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THE COMMUNIST

The United Front—The Key to Our New Tactical Orientation — EARL BROWDER
Report to the November Plenum of Central Committee

SPEECHES AT NOVEMBER PLENUM OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Negro Liberation Movement and the Farmer-Labor Party — JAMES W. FORD

Experiences in United Independent Political Action—The Road to the Farmer-Labor Party — WILLIAM W. WEINSTONE

Rooting the Party on the Waterfront — ROY HUDSON

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Resolution on Farmer-Labor Party

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Announcement

We are pleased to announce to our readers the introduction, beginning with the January issue, of a new feature in "The Communist", in the form of a political review of the month to be conducted by Alex Bittelman. The first review, on the occasion of the Lenin anniversary, will deal with the influence of Lenin on the class struggle today.

The Editors

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The United Front—The Key to Our New Tactical Orientation

By EARL BROWDER

(Report to the November Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A.)

COMRADES, we open this Plenum of the Central Committee with the main political report already before the Party. This is in the form of the Seventh World Congress reports. Chief of these is Dimitroff's report, of which over 400,000 copies have already been distributed in this country. The proposed application of the line of the Congress to the U.S.A., which was submitted to the Congress by the American delegation and approved, has also been in the hands of the Party for many weeks. Oral reports by the returned delegates have been made to packed halls in almost all of the important cities. In these meetings we had a mass demonstration of approval of the Seventh World Congress decisions on a scale unprecedented in our movement.

Thus, the basic preparatory work of our plenum is thoroughly done. The line is clearly laid down. The enthusiastic endorsement by our Party has been completely expressed. What we must do at this Plenum is to proceed deeper and in more detail to the application of this line to the concrete problems of our movement, and to discuss as thoroughly as time will permit all of the tasks of applying this line in everyday life, of meeting and overcoming all the difficulties, answering all of the arguments that arise in the minds of our Party members, our sympathizers, and of the broad masses generally.

First, of course, we must again speak about the significance of the Seventh World Congress and again evaluate this Congress in the light of its effect upon our movement, and the outstanding feature of this Congress which becomes more and more apparent as time goes on.

THE NEW TACTICAL ORIENTATION FORMULATED BY THE COMINTERN

The Seventh World Congress formulated a new tactical orientation for our Party, an orientation suited to the new developments in the world situation.

When we say that, we are met with two sorts of arguments

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from certain quarters. The general type of these arguments is indicated, on the one hand, by those who say: "So, you admit that your old orientation was wrong"; the second is, "Never mind 'new orientation'—that is bluff, the Communists have changed nothing".

The first argument says that by adopting a new tactical orientation the Communists are admitting, whether they want to or not, that their old tactical orientation was wrong and had to be changed because it was wrong. To this our answer is: Not at all. The Seventh World Congress formulated a new tactical line because new conditions have arisen, not because the old line was wrong. The Communists are Marxists, Leninists, Stalinists. We adopt such tactics as best suit the concrete conditions. We will adopt new tactics again when changing conditions will demand it. What Communists do not change, of course, is their strategic aim—the proletarian revolution and Socialism. Naturally, the Seventh World Congress made no change in that at all. On the contrary, it equipped the working class vanguard with such a tactical line as will enable them to fight most effectively for this aim in the present world situation.

If that second argument meant that the Communists did not change their revolutionary aim, we would have no differences with it. But those arguing that we have changed nothing mean to say that we have not changed our tactical orientation. They seek to question our sincerity in the matter of tactics. This is slander, designed to hamper the united front against fascism and war, which we must expose and reject. The essence of the new tactical orientation can be stated briefly:

The working class is now in a position to exercise a decisive influence upon the affairs of its own country, as well as upon world affairs. Can it be said that this was always the case? No, it cannot. A split working class could not undertake to exercise a decisive influence upon internal and external affairs. But a working class that is moving in the direction of united action, of unity—such a working class can. Further, the working class that was dragged along by reformism in the path of class collaboration, in the path of paving the way for fascism, of uniting with the bourgeoisie to suppress the revolutionary movement—such a working class could do nothing in its own interest. But a working class that is moving away from class collaboration, a movement participated in by ever larger numbers of Socialists, Socialist organizations, trade unions—such a working class can.

Clearly, the Seventh World Congress was basing itself upon a change of first rate importance in the world situation when it proceeded to ground its tactics upon the ability of the working class now to exercise a decisive influence upon affairs.

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But this is not all. The final and irrevocable victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union strengthens immeasurably the positions of the workers throughout the world. That is undeniable. From this follows that the working class can now undertake bigger things for itself than it could in the past. Inspired and strengthened by the socialist successes in the Soviet Union, the workers in the capitalist world are gaining confidence in their own strength, their actual organized strength to carry on the struggle.

THE SOVIET UNION—THE BULWARK OF STRENGTH AGAINST FASCISM AND WAR

Is it not clear that in the lineup against fascism the Soviet Union stands as the most powerful base of support? Is it not clear that in the lineup against war, for peace, for the oppressed and threatened rights of nationalities, for cultural development and freedom, the Soviet Union is the impregnable bulwark of strength? What has happened? These are some of the great changes taking place: the final victory of socialism has greatly strengthened the Soviet Union and the change in the working class described above (the movement towards unity and struggle) enables the working class to take advantage of the increased strength of the Soviet Union in order to carry on a decisive fight against war, fascism, and capitalism.

And then another change: the proved inability of the bourgeoisie to overcome the collapse of capitalist stabilization, its proved inability to make any progress towards overcoming the final crisis of the capitalist system. The victory of fascism in Germany, made possible by the surrender of Social-Democracy, was a great defeat of the working class; but Hitler did not solve the contradictions of German capitalism. Hitler could not and did not bring German capitalism out of the state of general crisis. He intensified the crisis and hence the general crisis of capitalism as a whole. Similarly with Mussolini and fascism everywhere. Everyone can now see that the outstanding "achievement" of fascism is the war on Ethiopia which threatens to become a new world war.

From this follows a new realization of the widest masses and toilers, who are beginning to realize much more than ever before, that, in the interests of mere self-preservation, they must begin a decisive fight to shift the burden of the crisis to the shoulders of the rich, to combat and liquidate fascism, to maintain and expand their rights and liberties, to fight against war and for peace.

That is why the Seventh World Congress formulated the new tactical orientation which sees the final and irrevocable victory of Socialism, the inability of the bourgeoisie to overcome the collapse of capitalist stabilization and the growing urge of the Socialists and

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trade unionists for the united front—all these enabling the working class to carry on an active revolutionary policy, weakening the position of the bourgeoisie and strengthening the positions of the working class.

This is a policy of frustrating, not merely combatting, the offensive of the bourgeoisie against the toilers. It is a policy of checking, not merely resisting, the introduction of fascism. It is a policy of actually thwarting the imperialist designs of the bourgeoisie and its contemplated attack on the Soviet Union; not merely of propaganda against it.

From these considerations it is clear that the policy of the Seventh World Congress is profoundly opposed to the policy of reforming capitalism, profoundly opposed to any policy which makes the working class the tail end of the bourgeoisie. The policies of reformism have proved bankrupt, and ever larger numbers of workers in the reformist organizations are becoming convinced of this. From this it follows that the opportunities for winning the masses and their organizations for an active revolutionary policy are much greater now than before. It therefore follows also that the Communists must and can become an important political factor in the daily life of their country as well as in the life of the world.

But this objective will not be reached automatically. The conditions are now such that the Communists must and can assume responsibility for the fate and well being of the working class and of all toilers today and every day. This means, however, that we must break with the remnants of the old method of mere propaganda; it means that we must thoroughly eradicate all remnants of the old traditions that we are only an opposition that has little to offer the masses until the revolution becomes mature. It is true that we have already moved away from such conceptions. But in actual methods of approach and work, we still meet all too often the attitude of pure revolutionary opposition to the Socialist Party and to the reformist leaders of mass organizations of the workers. We must say: no, we are not merely a revolutionary opposition, we are a political Party whose aim is the proletarian revolution, Soviet power, and Socialism, and because of this we are advocates of an active revolutionary and practical policy for today and every day, a policy of the day which the American proletariat can accept as its own, and by so doing can exercise a decisive influence in the affairs of America and of the world.

What must we do? We must find that decisive link in the present class struggle which will enable us best to prepare the toilers for the coming great battles of the second round of revolutions. And what is that link? It is the united front against fascism and war.

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FOR THE POLITICAL UNITY OF THE PROLETARIAT

The new tactical orientation of the Seventh World Congress—this is the link that will lead us to the next link, the united party of the proletariat. It is the link that will fuse the proletariat into a single mass political army and will insure its victory in the struggle against fascism, against the power of capital, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and for the power of the Soviets.

This gives us also the line and methods for the propaganda of Communism, of the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the present period. Those who say that we want to gloss over our differences with reformism are obviously falsifying. We want to convince the workers that reformism is wrong and that Communism is right. But we want to do this in a new way, in a better way; a way made possible by the changed conditions and by our new tactical orientation.

And what is that way? It is to propagate Communism on the basis of the experiences of the united front which lays the basis for political unity of the proletariat. It is the way of helping the Socialists and trade unionists who are moving in the direction of class struggle to reach the acceptance of Leninism on the basis of their own experience in the class struggle and in the united front.

It is clear that the tactics of the Seventh World Congress give us a most powerful weapon for the building and strengthening of the Communist Party, for the development of broader and better Bolshevik cadres and for the realization of the political unity of the proletariat. But in order to use this weapon effectively, we must eradicate all vestiges of sectarianism. The Seventh Congress and Comrade Dimitroff in his report had some very harsh words to say about sectarian habits, about stereotyped and mechanical approaches and methods in our work. We must do away with these things. They are the main obstacles in our path. At the same time we must be vigilantly on guard against Right opportunist tendencies, a tendency to get lost among the masses, to become dispersed. These will occur, no doubt. And the freer we can make ourselves from sectarianism, the better we will ward off these Right opportunist dangers. What we need is more initiative; greater ability to apply in a living way the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin; political alertness and tactical flexibility. All these are inseparably linked up with firmness in the prosecution of our revolutionary aim and boundless loyalty to our revolutionary principles and to our Party.

You are already acquainted with the practical and effective policies for trade union unity worked out by the Congress. Here it is important to recognize the tremendous effect these decisions already have had. The movement for trade union unity nationally and inter-

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nationally has received an enormous push forward. We can see it in France, where unity is about to be concluded. We can see it in the strengthening of the demand for trade union unity by the rank and file, by genuine progressive trade unionists everywhere.

Another thing should be emphasized: the united front between Socialists and Communists exercises a powerful influence in speeding up trade union unity. It is beyond doubt one of the most potent means of strengthening the proletariat against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and war.

There will be a special report on the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International. It is necessary, however, in my report, to point out the tremendous importance attached by the Comintern Congress to the task of uniting the toiling youth in the struggle against fascism and war. This is a crucial task from which follow serious duties of the Communist Party to help the Young Communist League to achieve the change in its character which is dictated by the present circumstances.

It is clear that the most important task of the Young Communist League is to help create a genuine non-party mass youth organization embracing the Communist youth, Socialist, Negro, pacifist, religious organizations, etc., in which all members would be educated in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The conditions in the United States are quite mature for such an organization. The united front between the Young Communist League and the Young People's Socialist League, and organic unity will prove the most effective way of bringing about the widest non-party mass youth organization. It is clear, however, that the Young Communist League will have to reconstruct radically its work in order to achieve these correct aims. It will be the task of the Communist Party to render the maximum help to the Young Communist League along these lines.

Now, I want to discuss some of the developing aspects of the struggle for peace and for the defense of the Soviet Union, on the basis of applying the line of the Seventh Congress to the current problems of the day which are being discussed among all the workers. It is no longer necessary to convince the masses about the immediate danger of war. This is now universally recognized.

The problem now facing all who want peace is how to stop the war against Ethiopia; how to postpone or prevent the spread of this war to the whole world; and if it spreads in spite of all our efforts, how to insure the isolation and defeat of the fascist instigators of war. It is also clear that the war of Italian fascism against Ethiopia threatens to become the prelude of the new world war. From such a war the capitalists of the United States will not keep out, despite

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all assurances to the contrary. Like a beast of prey, the German fascists are watching for the moment to jump at Lithuania, to grab Memel and to open up a criminal counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. And in the Far East the military forces of Japan already feel emboldened to proceed with their designs to separate China, have fortified their military outposts in Central China for a counter-revolutionary attack against the Soviet Union.

Is it not plain as daylight that if the forces of peace do not make a supreme and united effort, fascism will surely bring on a new world war? What are the basic forces in the fight for peace? The working class first of all—the head of the toiling masses in the capitalist and colonial countries, and in that country in which the working class holds power, the Soviet Union. To these main forces are rallied the peoples of the weaker nations whose independence is threatened especially by Hitler fascism. And lastly, the revolutionary use of the imperialist contradictions in the interests of peace.

Can anyone doubt today that the Soviet Union tries with all its might to prevent war? Can anyone doubt that the Soviet Union is the chief bulwark for peace in the world, not because it is weak, but precisely because it has grown strong and powerful, and demonstrates that Socialism means peace, in contrast to fascism, which is the chief threat of war? The Soviet Union participates in the collective efforts to avoid war taken by the League of Nations. It must be clear, however, that the Soviet Union does so with different motives from those of Great Britain. It has no selfish interests of its own, it has no Lake Tana to preserve under its hegemony, no sea route to colonies to protect against rivals. The sole interest of the Soviet Union, as the country of Socialism, is to preserve humanity from the supreme calamity of imperialist war. All the more shameful therefore are the slanderous attacks against the Soviet Union being carried on now by the "Old Guard" leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party, those who work hand in glove with Hearst, at the moment when the Soviet Union is contributing most powerfully to peace. All the more shameful is the role of the present administration, following in Hearst's steps, by inciting the war-making nations, Japan and Germany, against the U.S.S.R. through the recent Hull note. The American workers, and especially the trade unions, and all friends of peace, should recall the fact that following Hull's note, William Green demanded that the government break off its relations with the Soviet Union. That is the way of William Green and Woll to fight for peace, inciting for war against the country where the workers rule, and which is fighting to secure peace. One might ask Green a pertinent question: Since you seem to be in such a hurry to break off relations with

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other countries, why not try it first on Mussolini, whose war you have condemned? Why don't you try it on Hitler, or the fascist-military clique of Japan? Is it because that would not suit Hearst, and the Liberty League, and the Civic Federation?

THE UNITED FRONT—THE CHIEF REQUIREMENT OF THE PROLETARIAN PEACE POLICY

The working class of the world, rallying behind it the support of the farmers and all toiling masses, is the only class that can stop war and can prevent war from spreading. It is the only force that by its independent struggle against imperialist governments can utilize the League of Nations as a partial and temporary instrument for peace through the application of sanctions on Italy. The slow and weak character of the steps taken by the League of Nations in declaring Italy the aggressor, and in setting sanctions in motion, prevents the League of Nations from exerting full power to bring a speedy conclusion of the war. Yet these actions, slow and weak as they were, were useful steps in the fight against fascist warmongers —these actions were brought about under pressure of the masses, and helped mobilize the masses for peace. But nothing would be more dangerous than to rely on the powers in the League determinedly to carry out these sanctions, and thus give a deadly blow to Mussolini. No one can be sure that the secret negotiations going on behind the scenes, between Great Britain, France, and Hitler, may not at any moment be consummated and thus encourage, not only Mussolini, but Hitler and Japan to plunge the whole world into war. The conclusions of this cannot be to withhold the struggle for League sanctions, but must be a more determined struggle of the masses for sanctions, making more difficult their abandonment by the imperialists and above all to carry out independently, by the working class, the imposition of sanctions, through the stoppage of all shipments to Italy, by working class sanctions, and a working class blockade. It is this independent action by the toiling masses on the basis of the united front to isolate the fascist warmakers that will be the crucial test of true proletarian peace policy. To compel League sanctions by mass struggle is important, but it is a subordinate and secondary thing. But this is not the understanding of the leaders of the British Labor Party and of "our own" reactionaries, the "Old Guard" of the Socialist Party. These people are waging war against the chief requirement of the proletarian peace policy—the united front.

Is it not fully clear that without a united front there can be no proletarian peace policy and no effective struggle for peace? More-

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over, these same people reject the united front in favor of collaboration with their own imperialist bourgeoisie, with the result that their so-called struggle for peace turns out to be in fact a "struggle" in support of the imperialist interests of the British government, of the American imperialists, and so on. It is a policy that offers no effective opposition to war and makes the workers the tail end of imperialism.

Nor can we be satisfied with the decisions of the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor. There was a unanimous desire for peace at this Convention. Even Woll and Hutchison were for peace. What else could they do? The working class is for peace and against the fascist warmakers. This is a fact of the utmost importance. The question is how shall the American masses fight most effectively for peace. The answer given by the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor was not satisfactory. The convention floor gave support to the neutrality policy of the Roosevelt government and endorsed support of the British government by the British trade unions. They endorsed also the Labor and Socialist International's policy of supporting the League of Nations. What is the essence of the position of the 55th Convention? They told Roosevelt: go ahead with your policies and we will support you. But is it not clear that Roosevelt has no consistent policy of peace? This is shown in his stoppage of shipments; and yet cotton, etc., raw materials are shipped for war. It does not enable Ethiopia to secure anything necessary for carrying on a defense against the aggressions of Mussolini. It has not brought about collaboration for peace between the United States and the Soviet Union which would immeasurably strengthen the struggle for peace. It is therefore clear that, while we must utilize Roosevelt's peace moves in order to isolate the Hearst-Liberty League warmongers and to compel the American government to adopt more effective peace measures to strengthen the fight of the masses for peace, it would be a fatal mistake to depend upon Roosevelt and, depending upon Roosevelt, to reject the slogan of "Not a ship, not a train to Italian fascism", to be enforced by the masses themselves, and thus make the working class the tail end of American imperialism.

The most important thing the American Federation of Labor can do to fight for peace is to organize and lead the workers to stop all shipments to and from Italy. That the American Federation of Labor workers will follow such a lead is indicated by the action of the American Federation of Labor unions on the Pacific Coast which carried out such a policy.

It must be realized that the things shipped to Mussolini are materials to make possible his criminal war. I am glad to state on

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this basic point there is full agreement between us and the militant Socialists led by Norman Thomas who come out for an absolute embargo on goods that will help Mussolini's conquest. However, it must also be realized that such an embargo can be brought about only by the united front of the workers and all toilers and, in the first necessity, the united front between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. The masses in the United States have a strong fear of being drawn again, as in 1917, into a world war. Starting from this fact, some sincere opponents of imperialist war, among them the Leftward moving majority of the Socialist Party under the leadership of Norman Thomas, placed the whole question of struggle against war as keeping the United States out of it. But is this a proper placing of this question? Are our memories so short? This was precisely the slogan under which Wilson was reelected in 1916. And in April, 1917, he plunged our country into a bloody war. Was it not clear that it was this very slogan in 1916 which was an essential means of getting the United States into war? And why? Because the only possible way of keeping America out is to keep the world out and to combine all the anti-war forces of the United States with similar forces throughout the world—including the Soviet Union, which Norman Thomas still refuses to say is a force for peace—in a spirited struggle against every step in the development of war, whether it is a step taken by our own or another imperialist government. The idea that the United States can be kept out of war by a policy of isolation from the rest of the world must be examined more closely. The origin of this idea comes back from the days when imperialism was beginning in America, fighting to establish itself as an independent nation. In those bygone days, Washington's policy of no foreign entanglements served the interests of the then progressive American bourgeoisie. But it is not to be supposed that America was following the policy of isolation even in those days. It was successfully utilizing the contradiction between France and England to strengthen the struggle for national independence. Complete isolation we never had. It was at no time possible. We had a policy of no permanent alliance with any country or group of countries. What we did have was petty bourgeois illusions about the possibility of complete isolation.

But even in the carrying out of no permanent alliance, Washington's dictum of no permanent entanglements was broken down by the capitalists in the United States. The Monroe Doctrine is one example, the Open Door policy in China another. Why? Because these policies and doctrines had launched American capitalism on its career of expansion, subsequently turned into political conquest, and thus brought this country into the midst of imperialist rivalries and

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foreign entanglements—the Spanish-American war followed by the world imperialist war of 1914-1918.

What was there left of the doctrine of no foreign entanglements? Nothing except the illusions of isolation which are being played upon by the reactionary imperialists and warmongers.

We must therefore distinguish between the isolationist illusions of certain sections of the toilers, especially the Middle Western farmers, and the isolation demagogy of the Hearsts, Coughlins, etc. When the masses speak of isolation, they mean peace. When Hearst, Coughlin and Co. speak of isolation, they mean war. They seek to exploit the very peace sentiments of the American masses for war against the colonial peoples and the Soviet Union, which we must expose most energetically and at the same time show the masses and sincere pacifists that their correct desire to keep America out of war can be accomplished and fought for effectively, not by dreams of isolation, not by following the line of Hearst-Coughlin, not by tying ourselves up with Roosevelt's half-hearted inconsistent policy which in Central and South America was a policy of war provocation, but by following an active, consistent and truly international policy of peace. We must patiently explain to the masses that the only way of seriously fighting against the involvement of the United States in war is by the independent mobilization of the workers, farmers, and middle class against every help to the warmakers, while making use for this purpose also of the League of Nations sanctions and Roosevelt's proclamations, and demand their complete application.

DANGERS AGAINST WHICH WE MUST GUARD IN PURSUING OUR PROLETARIAN PEACE POLICY

We must also differentiate very sharply the internationalist proletarian policy of peace from the so-called international imperialist and pro-League of Nations policy of certain sections of American finance capital. There is a move on the part of some monopolists advocated most strongly in the *New York Times* to bring about closer collaboration between the United States and the League of Nations. Renewed efforts in this direction by certain sections of the bourgeoisie arise from the realization that the status quo on a world scale could be best preserved by joining the League or at least by collaboration with it. This tendency expresses the desire of strong, perhaps dominant, sections of the bourgeoisie, to preserve peace for the moment. Roosevelt, as is evident, moves hesitatingly in this direction. It is clear that this so-called internationalism is imperialist and fundamentally different from our proletarian internationalism, the only true internationalism. And this we must make clear to the masses beyond any doubt. At the same time the question arises, can the Amer-

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ican workers and in what way can they utilize for their own peace policy these peace tendencies and contradictions within the bourgeoisie —for example, the contradiction expressed by the *New York Times* on one hand and the Hearst-Coughlin group on the other. The answer is yes, we can; we must try to utilize it and we can be successful, despite the doubts of Comrade Thomas, if we are to do it in a Leninist-Stalinist way. This way demands, first, independent action of the masses through the united front against war and fascism and imperialist aims. This way demands, secondly, complete abandonment of policies of class collaboration and an energetic policy of class struggle. This way demands, thirdly, the propagation of the correct Stalinist view of the League of Nations as a slight impediment to the fascist warmongers. This way demands, fourthly, the exposure of the reformist view that the League of Nations is a cure for war and that the workers should confine themselves to supporting the League. And, fifthly, we must demand cooperation for peace between the United States and the Soviet Union as the very basis and essence of any policy of United States collaboration with the League of Nations.

Only in this way can the American workers and toilers pursue an independent, effective and truly international peace policy, a policy that aims to keep the United States out of war. Only in this way can we act against the two dangers that are becoming most acute—one, the American masses becoming victims to the isolationism of Hearst-Coughlin, and, two, the danger of becoming the tail end of Wall Street internationalists.

We don't, of course, seek to have a big debate with Comrade Thomas and the Left Socialists on the question of sanctions. From what we already agree on, there is sufficient basis for a fruitful united front in the struggle for peace. Moreover, we are firmly convinced that such united mass action will do more to remove doubt from the minds of the doubters than any kind of debate. However, when the question is up for discussion, we are in duty bound to do the following. First, the objections to demanding League sanctions are in truth not objections to our way, the revolutionary way, but to the reformist way of supporting the League and the imperialist governments. Second, Thomas' doubts on the question of sanctions arise not so much from a revolutionary and proletarian class position as from certain pacifist and isolationist illusions together with his refusal to understand the peace policy of the Soviet Union. By working to remove these pacifist and isolationist illusions in the course of working for the united front, we shall find the common language and common policy also on these questions.

Much has been said by our enemies to discredit the peace policy

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of the Soviet Union, especially what is called its diplomacy. We must say to those who attack the Soviet peace policy that this becomes the last resort to help the fascist warmakers. But all this slander will be in vain; because the Soviet Union's unselfish and consistent struggle for peace is so convincing that no amount of misrepresentation can obscure for any length of time for large masses the realization that to support the peace policies of the Soviet Union is the most effective way of fighting for peace.

Much also has been said by our enemies to discredit the peace strategy of the Seventh Congress of the C.I., especially its rallying call to the toilers of all countries to defend the Soviet Union, the bulwark of socialism and peace. We must say that no matter how much misrepresentation and slander are directed against this slogan, it is unable to obscure for the masses the main idea, that idea from which everything else flows, the idea which is more and more enthusiastically received by growing numbers of workers and toilers throughout the world, not only Communists and sympathizers, Socialists, non-party trade unionists and others — the plain, crystal clear, world-shaking proposition which says: "If the commencement of a counter-revolutionary war forces the Soviet Union to set the workers' and peasants' Red Army in motion for the defense of socialism, then the Communists will call upon all toilers to work with all means at their disposal and at any price for the victory of the Red Army over the armies of the imperialists."

The defeat of fascism and thereby of the warmakers must be brought about by the uprising of the masses under the fascist oppression. This uprising will be greatly stimulated and made easier, as in Italy for example now, if a great international peace action would compel the League of Nations to proceed determinedly with sanctions against the aggressor, and bring about his shameful defeat, and if thereby the Italian workers are inspired to fight against the system which brings them misery and death. This blow against Mussolini would become a blow against Nazi Germany and military fascism in Japan, these chief menaces of the peace of the world.

This is one possible course of development. The other which is possible, if the masses do not intervene to prevent it, is the course of the bargain between Britain and Italy, which will enable Mussolini to retreat in good order, to reconsolidate his regime, and thus encourage Hitler and the Japanese firebrands to proceed in their attempt to remold the world in their own image.

What practical tasks follow from this examination of the war dangers? We would summarize the practical tasks of the day in six points:

1. To secure the adoption of resolutions condemning the fascist

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warmakers and declaring support of their victims, in all trade unions and all other organizations of workers, farmers, and middle classes, in churches, schools, clubs, etc., everywhere. This is the first, most simple, most immediate and universally applicable line of struggle for peace.

2. To organize mass meetings, demonstrations, parades of all kinds, small and large. To popularize and dramatize this anti-war program and bring it sharply to the attention of masses not yet aware of the issues.

3. To place emphatically before the President and Congress, by means of these actions, the demand for enforcement of a complete embargo on trade and loans for Italy.

4. To do everything possible to bring together all the peace forces in every locality, and in the nation, into a great concentration for peace, into a great National Congress for peace and against war and fascism. For this purpose we must mobilize support everywhere for the coming Third United States Congress Against War and Fascism to take place in Cleveland on January 3, 4 and 5. This great anti-war congress, which already represents the largest united front ever built in America, is of the most strategic importance at the present time. No one can be said to be doing his duty in the fight against war unless he is actively participating in building up a great, broad representation to the Third United States Congress against war and fascism.

5. To begin independent action of the workers to stop all shipments to Italy. This can be begun in a small way and can be developed by a series of small actions, decisive actions which will influence the whole world. Those who doubt the efficacy of small actions should remember the historic case of the tearing down of the Nazi flag from the steamship *Bremen*, that shook the whole world and is still the subject of conversation among all the masses in Germany and in Europe.

6. To secure united action between Socialists and Communists in the United States and to call upon the Second International to accept the proposals of the Communist International for world-wide united action against war.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RECENT ELECTIONS

Now we take up the examination of the meaning of the 1935 election results.

This year in American politics was essentially one of gathering of forces, of beginning their realignment, maneuvering for position in preparation for the decisive 1936 Presidential elections. Two things are outstanding: (1) the sharpening struggle within the bour-

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geoisie and, most important, the further and more rapid crystallization of the reactionary camp with strong incipient fascist tendencies (the Liberty League and Hearst group); (2) the growth of the forces that are taking up the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party.

It is becoming more evident every day, also to American finance capital, that improvement in the economic situation does not signify the lessening of the general crisis of capitalism. Whether or not the New Deal contributed anything to the rising curve of business, the fact remains that unemployment has not materially decreased. Agriculture continues in crisis, foreign trade shows no signs of improvement. In addition, Japanese military penetration in China has blocked for the time United States imperialist expansion, and even in Latin America, the private preserves of Yankee imperialism, Britain, and lately Japan, are stubbornly challenging further American expansion.

From these facts certain conclusions are being drawn by large sections of monopoly capital, especially the groups around the Morgan and Du Pont interests, the interests which are decisive forces in the American Liberty League. What are these conclusions?

First, that Roosevelt's policies do not any more meet the situation, and that Roosevelt must be replaced by some one who can do the job for capitalism better.

Second, that more determined efforts must be made to reduce the standards of living of the masses in order to cheapen the cost of production, balance the budget, and take government out of business.

Third and most important, that this must and can be achieved only by the sharpest attack against the masses by the open and brutal methods of reaction, fascist methods of war, and, in general, an iron hand against the toiling masses, against their organizations.

This program, as is well known, finds complete support from the Manufacturers' Association, the Chambers of Commerce, Bankers Association, etc. These reactionary groups concentrating in the one camp are trying to bring fascism into the United States. They already indicate that they will stop at nothing to achieve their reactionary aim. They will make the utmost effort to defeat Roosevelt in 1936 and to place an administration in power that will carry through this program to the full satisfaction of Morgan, DuPont, General Motors, Hearst and Company. Roosevelt, of course, seeks to achieve fundamentally the same class objectives as his Right opponents. But, as is well known, he is pursuing a different path and is necessarily basing himself upon different groups within the bourgeoisie, seeking to retain the support of the workers, farmers, and middle class. It would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of the differences of Roosevelt's policy. It also would be a mistake to think that Roose-

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velt has no basis among the finance capitalists, for he has such a basis. He is the spokesman, primarily, of the large independents and monopoly groups which are in conflict with the Morgan interests. What is necessary to emphasize today is that Roosevelt continues to hold his mass base of farmers and workers. He is trying to accomplish this end by some tangible concessions to the well-to-do farmers and very niggardly concessions to the workers. It is precisely this fact that presents us with the problem of winning the masses away from Roosevelt as well as combatting the dangerous possibilities of certain sections of the masses who, becoming disillusioned in Roosevelt, have returned to the Republicans.

The danger of growing fascism in the United States cannot and must not be underestimated. The material and political resources of the big monopolists and bankers behind the Liberty League and Hearst are tremendous. They are developing the wildest demagogy on all fronts. They attack Roosevelt on his spending program and liberalism to trade unions in order to gain the ear of the bourgeoisie and some sections of the petty-bourgeoisie. They also attack Roosevelt for his inability to solve the unemployment situation in order to gain the ear of the disillusioned workers. They attack Roosevelt for the Agriculture Adjustment Administration, and the processing tax in order to win the support of the manufacturers and capitalists. At the same time they attack Roosevelt for his failure to improve conditions of farmers in order to gain the support of the farmers themselves. It is not to be supposed that the masses are not falling victim to the demagogy of the Liberty League and Hearst. It would be a fatal mistake to think that it would have no effect on the masses. To expose, therefore, the interests behind Roosevelt's Right opponents and Hearst, to show the fascist plans of these and the danger that they carry for the masses is a political task of the first importance.

Another matter that must not be overlooked is the fact that the very reliance of large masses upon Roosevelt, as an effective check against the coming of the Liberty League to power, works into the hands of the Liberty League itself. Our task is not only to show the masses where the danger of fascism comes from but, what is most important, to convince them that Roosevelt, while no longer as in 1933-34 representing also the main fascist camp, still is not working against it, but is no obstacle to the growth of fascist forces. Roosevelt's entire record proves that.

It should therefore be clear that in the further development of the Farmer-Labor movement which is growing on all sides, one of our central tasks is to convince the masses that they can place no dependence upon Roosevelt. They must build their own Party—a Farmer-Labor Party—in order to combat and fight effectively

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against the dangers confronting them. We must prove to the masses that only a Farmer-Labor Party will challenge the policies of the Liberty League and both capitalist parties. Only such a Party will be able to shift the burden of the crisis on the rich, on the monopolists, will be able to check the capitalist attacks and frustrate the attacks of fascism and prevent war. It is necessary to add that both capitalist parties realize the danger for them in the emergence of a Farmer-Labor Party and are doing all in their power by different means to check the growth of such a Party.

The elections show these two main features: first, the growing mass disillusionment in the two old parties, and specifically, with the New Deal. The masses did not yet make a break with old alliances. There was to be seen the dangerous tendency for the growing discontent to return to the channels of the two-party system—be returning to the Republicans. But it would be a great mistake to see only this.

The second chief feature was that where a strong effort was made by drawing in a substantial part of the trade union movement, placing it in the lead of the broad mass discontent, and giving the masses the feeling that they had a chance to win, there labor registered a really serious labor opposition to the New Deal and the Republicans. While the Communist Party vote increased everywhere in no case less than 25 per cent, and often many times more, yet in such localities where the Communists participated in broader united front efforts, there the masses responded on a tenfold scale and more.

This is seen especially in Detroit, Reading, Bridgeport, Toledo and many smaller places. On the other hand, in the center of the strongest organization of the trade unions, of the Socialists and the Communist Party, in New York City, where there was no possibility of united effort in the elections because of the reactionary policies of the Old Guard in control of the Socialist Party, here the Socialist Party lost even more than the Communist Party gained, while the masses voted even more than before for the two old parties. While in New York we must note this as a sign of the fact that the Communist Party in relation to that of the Socialist Party advanced in the past few years from a ratio of about 1 to 10, up to a position of approximate equality, yet we can by no means be satisfied with this, in the midst of a national crisis which calls for a united Socialist and Communist effort to lead and organize the masses solidly against growing reaction and fascism. The vacillating supporters of the Farmer-Labor Party, as well as the open opponents, are emphasizing the first feature, that the masses did not break with the old two-party system, and sneer at the significance of the fact that in important centers such a break did take place. To such an argument we

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must answer: we do not expect the masses to break spontaneously with the old parties without leadership any more than we expect the workers spontaneously to organize trade unions without leaders and organizers. What can we expect so long as the leadership existing in the influential organizations among the workers and farmers continue openly to support the old parties, or, like the Old Guard Socialist Party leaders fight more bitterly against every effort of the united front than against the capitalist parties. What can we expect so long as Green's argument demands that the American Federation of Labor go into a Labor Party movement only after the workers are convinced and when they force the unions into the movement, but himself does nothing to lead them in this direction, but, on the contrary, proposes to expel the Communists? What can we expect when the militant Socialist Party leaders who are for a Labor Party waver and hesitate under the pressure of the Old-Guard and Green bureaucracy?

THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY WILL BE BUILT ONLY THROUGH STRUGGLE

The Farmer-Labor Party will not be born spontaneously. It must be led and organized by a united front coalition of the most advanced workers and toilers. The building of the Farmer-Labor Party is not a question of weeks and years of quiet philosophical discussion until we clear up every question in advance. This is an urgent bread-and-butter question of the day. The Farmer-Labor Party is a question of gathering the forces of the toiling masses for the daily struggles for bread, for wages, for relief and insurance, for democratic rights, against the rising tide of reaction. This is a struggle which cannot be postponed, except at the cost of a shameful surrender to fascism, at the cost of a shattering of living standards, the wiping out of all organizations of toilers, even trade unions, and a period of terror and reaction in America.

Opponents of the Farmer-Labor Party argue: But look at the menacing fascist combination of the American Liberty League, Hearst, etc., all around the Republican Party. This most reactionary camp attacks Roosevelt and the New Deal from the Right, even more sharply than it does those on the Left, even calling him a Communist. Don't you see that the Farmer-Labor Party now will play into the hands of the Old Guard of the grand old party of reaction? No, they say, we must instead rally around Roosevelt, unsatisfactory as he is, as the only bulwark against reaction and fascism.

It is true that the most reactionary capitalist circles have formed a combination to the Right of Roosevelt and fight against his administration in the sharpest way. In this they are guided by three main

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aims. First, they want to prepare an alternative administration more Right, more openly fascist, more able to attack the living standards of the masses. Second, they want to force Roosevelt more to the Right, to abandon even more the promises of social security, and of course they are determined that these should never be granted. Their efforts to move Roosevelt to the Right have met with good success. Third, they want to discredit the Socialists and Communists by identifying them in the public mind with the shameful New Deal, while themselves, having already nabbed the profits of the New Deal, clear their own skirts of the whole responsibility for it and divert the disillusionment of the masses towards the Right, into the channels of semi-fascist and fascist reaction against Roosevelt. Can the toiling masses defeat these three main aims of the Liberty League, by coming to the support of Roosevelt? No, that is impossible. Even the recent American Federation of Labor Convention had to register the fact of growing reaction, political oppression, misery, starvation, now under Roosevelt. The very non-radical John L. Lewis after the convention found it necessary to issue the threat of a national general strike to halt the increasing murder of striking miners in the Southern cities, the basis of Mr. Roosevelt's administration. Under Roosevelt, the company unions made the greatest gains in history; and now precisely when Roosevelt has lost the support of finance capital which he enjoyed in the first period when his administration was supported by all the leading forces leading to fascism and reaction, it is precisely now that from leaning to the Left, Roosevelt moves more to the Right, to the way outlined by the dictates of the camp which attack him most sharply.

We cannot fight against reaction by supporting Roosevelt, whose whole strategy of fighting against reaction consists in making one concession after another to it, and who maintains not one single fixed struggle against the Right.

You give over unconditionally the support of the masses, in return for empty promises. When Roosevelt spit in your face, you looked up at the sky and complained that the weather was getting bad. This is what you recommend to us as a means of fighting against reaction.

This is the method of fighting reaction which was followed in Germany, and which led to the victory of Hitler. And the present trend revealed in the elections—where large masses gave a victory to the reactionary Republican Party, with its Liberty League, Hearst allies, etc.—must serve as a flaming danger signal that the same thing will happen in America as happened in Germany if the masses in the trade unions and the Socialist Party do not unite for an independent movement of the masses.

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HOW CERTAIN "PROGRESSIVES" ARGUE AGAINST THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

Another argument against the Farmer-Labor Party (expressed at the American Federation of Labor Convention by the "progressive" Howard) is to point to Germany where the progressives had great political power, but where fascism was triumphant. From this they draw the conclusion that the old traditional two parties should be supported in order to fight fascism. But the reason fascism could come to Germany in spite of strong independent workers' parties was that the most powerful of these parties, the Social-Democratic Party, followed exactly the same policy that such progressives advocate in supporting Roosevelt, and they consequently split the workers by refusing to unite with the second most powerful workers' party, the Communist Party, in a joint struggle against capitalism and fascism. If we repeat the mistakes made in Germany, the same result will follow; just as surely as the same result will follow from the policy that Mr. Howard advocates. We are supposed to be intelligent people. Presumably, we should learn from the mistakes of the German people. Francis Gorman of the textile union, a man far from being a Communist, a man who lost the textile strike by believing in Roosevelt, has seemingly been able to learn from experience. In his resolution and speech on the Labor Party question, he showed that it is not necessary to be a Communist in order to shatter such arguments and to prove the burning necessity for a broad independent political party of the toilers in order to fight effectively against reaction.

If we believed the spokesmen of the two major capitalist parties, it would appear that prosperity is not only just around the corner as it used to be in the days of Hoover, but that it is actually in our very midst. This, of course, is not so. We still have not less than fourteen million unemployed, with about twenty million dependent upon the relief rolls. The weekly earnings have been lowered by the Roosevelt administration, except for a few sections of workers who have been given wage increases as a result of bitter struggle. The farming population, especially the main bulk of them, are in a more dangerous crisis than ever. The A.A.A., which created concessions to the well-to-do farmers, and to a narrow stratum of middle farmers, is immeasurably worsening the conditions of the rest of the farming population, especially the small farmers, sharecroppers and agricultural workers.

We have already referred to the fact that the foreign trade has not improved. The argument is made that the outlook is much brighter, that conditions are improving and will keep on improving.

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Of course, this is not so. While it is true that production has risen and may even continue to rise for a while, until a new collapse takes place due to the operation of the natural laws of capitalism and the increasing government expenditures, not the least of which were devoted to war purposes, it is quite certain that American capitalist economy cannot and will not emerge from the stage of general crisis. The decline of American capitalism is a fact. The general world situation, the acute imperialist rivalries, the danger of a new war, the permanent army of unemployed, the lowered standard of living of the masses, make it impossible for American capitalist economy to overcome its contradictions. Even spokesmen for capitalism, including Roosevelt, have repeatedly admitted that even if production should rise to the level of 1929 industry will not be able to absorb more than a small fraction of the present army of unemployed, leaving a permanent army of between ten and fifteen millions whom Roosevelt may again characterize as unemployables, who will not be able to find room in production. Doesn't this expose the hollowness and mockery in the assertions of spokesmen of capitalism that prosperity is already with us, or that it is just around the corner? No one of these spokesmen has as yet indicated how they propose, under existing conditions of capitalism, to abolish unemployment; not one has given a hint that they expect unemployment to be solved at any time. Yes, the Republicans have proposed that we should abolish expenditures for unemployed relief. That only means abandoning the unemployed completely. Roosevelt is also cutting down expenditures for relief, but this again only makes the conditions of the unemployed worse and worse; it does not abolish unemployment.

To repeat, therefore, the demagogy of both parties on the question of prosperity is a fraud and deception, if by this is meant prosperity for the masses, and not merely higher profits for the monopolists.

What is behind the demagogy of prosperity? Both capitalist parties try to make out that capitalism is succeeding in overcoming the depression, that it will now be possible to get along with normal measures. The idea is to fill the masses with illusions about the strength of capitalism, to break the fighting spirit, the desire to organize, to keep them from organizing their own political party, a Farmer-Labor Party, to try to make them swim along with the illusion that the upswing of capitalism will solve all their difficulties.

The difference between the Republican and Democratic demagogy on this question is simply that Roosevelt claims that prosperity is returning because of the New Deal, and just as he planned it. The Republicans try to show that this prosperity is coming back in

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spite of the New Deal and because the Supreme Court cancelled the N.R.A. The Republican Party is trying to win the masses with the idea that in order to hasten the further development of prosperity, it is necessary further to liquidate the New Deal, and put a Republican administration in power. They call upon the workers and farmers to abandon the fight for their own interests, to surrender their political independence, and throw themselves upon the mercy of their worst exploiters and enemies.

The question has been raised whether our Party will work with those workers who are ready to build local and state Farmer-Labor Parties, but who are not yet ready to support a Farmer-Labor Presidential candidate in 1936. Our answer to this should be: we are not going to break with such workers. We are going to build with them local and state parties, and fight with them for control of local and state governments.

In this way we will seek to convince them of building a national Farmer-Labor Party and putting forward a national ticket in the 1936 election. What conclusion must we draw from this? Every new event and argument brought forward emphasizes the analysis made by our Party and the tasks of the labor movement worked out on that basis. This means, in the first place, it is necessary to turn all our energies to the central task of the period—to the building of a broad and aggressive Farmer-Labor Party in every town and city, in every state and in the whole nation in preparation for the election struggles and for the decisive election of 1936.

OUR AGITATION FOR THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY MUST BE IMPROVED

What are the next steps towards the Farmer-Labor Party? We must say that the tempo with which we are moving towards bringing the Farmer-Labor Party into existence throughout the country is at present very unsatisfactory. If we continue to lag behind in this work, we will soon create a grave danger to the movement. It is becoming a question of primary importance to speed up the first stages of building the Farmer-Labor Party everywhere. This requires in the first place a serious improvement in the quality of our work. In the first place it requires improvement of our agitation for the Farmer-Labor Party. Having convinced our Party members of the need for such a Party, we have shown the tendency that this question is closed and needs no further discussion. But the question is not closed and we have yet to convince the masses without whom the Farmer-Labor Party will continue to be nothing but a wish and not a reality. It is necessary to take up the task of bringing them the firm convictions we have. We must answer all the arguments of our

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opponents. We must show how the difficulties can be overcome. We must show this in terms of the daily life of each locality, industry and group of people with whom we are dealing at the particular moment.

Our press, pamphlets and speeches are entirely unsatisfactory in this respect. While the Central Committee and Political Bureau are improving the work of the Center in this respect, it is necessary that the same question be taken up by every District Committee, Section Committee, and leading fraction of mass organizations. The language used in our agitation, both written and spoken, is still too much taken bodily from our resolutions, reports, and discussions. These must be translated into the language of the streets, shops, etc. We must find the needed popularity of language.

How can we do it? By bringing into our agitprop work, into the work of the press, and leaflets, those workers who know how to speak to the masses. We must get rid of the idea that the qualities of being agitprop specialists are to be as far away from the masses as possible. We must find workers who can take our resolutions and translate them into the language of the masses and convince them by the use of language that the masses take to as natural language. There are such forces in our Party, but they are not drawn into the work of agitation. This must be done. We must find such people to talk to the masses and not just in committees. These comrades will introduce those appealing arguments, such arguments as they know how to make to the masses. We need mass agitators. We must find them in our midst and push them forward. We must select those who have the knack of humorous, picturesque and salty language of the masses. The agitational work must be made popular. An agitprop department that does not do this and organize the people to do this is no agitprop department, but an obstacle in the way. Many big capitalist politicians owe their success to their ability to speak the language of the masses.

They know how to clothe the most reactionary policies with a human touch that reaches the masses much more quickly than the most perfect and dignified English. How much easier it ought to be for us to be intimately human with the policies that represent the most human interests of the masses. We must be able to learn to do this and we can if we set ourselves to do it.

We need to carry on a systematic campaign for the Farmer-Labor Party in every mass organization, create discussions, have issues raised in many ways, and finally crystallize support into resolutions supporting the Farmer-Labor Party. Such a resolution should always include a series of decisions directed towards bringing that organization into cooperation with others for creating groups of

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specially active members and delegates charged with the responsibility for developing the issue of the Farmer-Labor Party.

There is no reason for not carrying such work into the neighborhood clubs, into Republican and Democratic clubs. Our comrades, when they come to the door of a Republican or Democratic club, draw back as though there was a sign on the door, "Smallpox, keep out!" But the Farmer-Labor Party will be created by the people whom you will get out of such parties, or never created at all. Even occasionally leaders will have to be taken. We must turn all energies with this in view.

This is especially true of organizations that show discontent with the official line of the old parties, such as Sinclair's Epic, the "Share the Wealth", the Townsend Plan, the Union for Social Justice, etc. The Sinclair idea that it is possible to reform the Democratic Party must of course be fought, but this must not lead us to think it is useless to change the ideas of individual members, and even their local membership organizations as a whole.

ON THE URGENCY FOR WORKING AMONG THE POOR AND MIDDLE FARMERS

Special attention must be paid to the existing farmers' organizations, especially those that contain poor and middle farmers. This is a rich field for the work for the Farmer-Labor Party.

The thing which must especially be emphasized is the need of linking up our slogans for partial demands with the support of the struggles for partial demands that the farmers are carrying on under slogans different from ours. This is an essential development of the struggle for the united front among the farmers. Large numbers of farmers, especially the middle farmers, are interested in the question of higher prices for farm products and lower prices for industrial products. There is a popular demand among the farmers for legislation that would secure to them the "cost of production". The Massingale Bill now before Congress seeks to embody this popular demand. We cannot take a completely negative attitude towards this Bill. We must eliminate sections of this Bill and make amendments and try to unify the struggle of the workers and farmers on the issue of better prices for the farmers and lower prices for the workers.

Another example is the Frazier-Lemke Bill, which is not a Bill in the interests of the farmers. Our own proposals embodied in the Farmers' Relief Bill are in the interests of the farmers, yet it would be a mistake to take a complete negative attitude to the Frazier-Lemke Bill. By a method of amendments we can succeed in mobilizing the masses to fight for clauses in our Bill, through

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qualified support through admendments to these Bills. This question naturally must be discussed more thoroughly. Here we must point out that the building of the Farmer-Labor Party among the toiling farmers depends upon the correct solutions of the problems of the farmers. The whole work and agitation of the Farmer-Labor Party must be carried on in such a way that the Farmer-Labor Party becomes the dominating thought of the masses in all their organizations. Only when the masses seize upon the idea of the Farmer-Labor Party, when this idea possesses and dominates the masses, only then will a powerful Farmer-Labor Party come into existence. We must break through the practice of hostility and silence thrown around this issue by the people who, in their own interests, try to keep the workers in the old parties. Our agitation is the chief weapon to this end; the weapon must be improved and sharpened, and kept constantly in use.

It is necessary to say a few words about the city middle classes and the necessity to bring these city middle classes into the Farmer-Labor Party. They also are suffering under the crisis and must also be won for the Farmer-Labor Party. In order to avert the dangerous situation where fascists and semi-fascists can use the situation of the middle classes in order to organize their storm troops, it is necessary to form a fighting alliance between the workers, farmers, and city middle classes. It is necessary that we study more carefully questions, problems, needs, and demands of the middle classes, including the farmers, as a special problem, and the middle classes in the cities also as a series of special problems. Only thus can we bring united action between the city middle classes, farmers, and petty bourgeoisie.

EVEN A MINORITY FARMER-LABOR PARTY WOULD STRENGTHEN THE WORKING CLASS TREMENDOUSLY

We always have to answer the "practical" people, who say: "Yes, it sounds good, but we cannot elect a Farmer-Labor Party President in 1936 and in most cases cannot elect a majority of the legislatures; therefore let us be practical and choose the best men of the old parties as the lesser evil." They will agree with everything in principle, but not "practically" yet. This is the same "practical" policy which has brought us to the present situation and exactly what we have been doing for generations. The more we go along this path, the more we go deeper into the crisis with lower living standards, loss of civil rights, company unions, and reaction generally. Surely the time has come when these people must begin to see there is something wrong with the practicability which always

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brings us the exact opposite of what we are trying to get. This is really a sort of political company unionism.

This is also true in the political field. Even a minority party (and every new party must be a minority party until it wins the majority) will be a tremendous weapon for the workers and farmers. Even the beginning of the Farmer-Labor Party would increase working class power, not only in the elections and government affairs, but would strengthen the trade unions in the daily fight for wages and better conditions. What a contrast even a small gain would be to our past experience when we were told we had placed our best man into power, that we had a new charter for labor, and in a few months we would wake up and see we were worse off than before and were again the suckers. But the Farmer-Labor Party could be a serious challenge to the old parties for government position. Imagine in New York if we could bring a big part of the trade union movement into the Farmer-Labor Party, together with a thousand other workers' organizations, middle class, and other groups, on such a minimum program on which there is substantial agreement. The very existence of such a party would throw a scare into the leaders of the old parties and they would drop their indifference to our demands.

The issues which interest the masses in the Farmer-Labor Party, the demands and proposals which express the deep-felt needs of the masses, require to be popularized in all our work of agitation. The Farmer-Labor Party needs to be made more realistic by showing what kind of measures it could and would take if its candidates were elected, and what such a Party can do even today to push these demands even before beginning to capture office. Our resolution lists ten types of demands and proposals. We have discussed them many times. We are all familiar with them. We give these demands in the resolution not in order that you should go out at once to fight for these ten demands, clipping them from our resolution, and putting them into all the agitation and leaflets for the Farmer-Labor Party. They are merely suggestions for the basis of mass discussions out of which the workers must write their own platform, the workers who organize the Farmer-Labor Party.

Most of these demands are self-explanatory to our Party members; it is not necessary to discuss them here at length. But some of them still have not been taken up systematically by our Party because the Party members are still unclear about their significance and the methods of their use. We will therefore elaborate to some extent on those around which questions still exist in our ranks.

THE DEMAND FOR OPENING THE CLOSED FACTORIES

First is the demand for opening the closed factories and enter-

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prises by the government, to employ labor at union wages. This is not merely a promise of what the Farmer-Labor Party will do after it obtains control of the government. It is a demand that is put up to the present government also, local, state or national, as the case may be. This is not a demand for partial socialization. It does not break through the boundaries of capitalism. It is a partial demand to be realized under capitalism, by capitalist forms. It does not require of its supporters already to be adherents of socialism. It does not propose governmental replacement of the private capitalist and his private initiative, except where that private capitalist has already used his private initiative in order to depart from the field altogether. It is thus limited in its application. At the same time and for the same reason it is very broad in its appeal. Masses of Republicans and Democrats, convinced supporters of the capitalist system, can be won for this demand in cases where capitalism so obviously no longer works.

This demand for the government to open the factories must be concretized in each town, in each industry. It is especially powerful in its mass appeal in those towns which depend primarily upon single industries and where capitalist rationalization has shifted production elsewhere, leaving whole populations stranded. But it is a living and vital demand everywhere and touches the masses in their most sensitive spot. The millions of unemployed want work above everything else, especially at union wages, not the artificially made work so obviously of little use to anyone, and for which the starvation relief wage is paid. This demand to open the factories is destined to become a central, chief slogan in the development of a broad, mass Farmer-Labor Party.

Some comrades are still confusing this demand with the Sinclair Epic program. It has in common with Epic, however, only the feature that it touches the masses on the same popular issue. And this is its good side. We can well desire to make our program as widely popular as Sinclair made his. It differs from Sinclair basically in its rejection of the idea of segregating the unemployed from the normal, everyday economic life of the country into a separate watertight compartment of so-called economy for use, an economy which could have none of the advantages of socialism, and none of the advantages of capitalism either, but only all of the disadvantages of capitalism. Our proposal is for the government to produce for the regular market, to pay the regular wages, merely replacing the private capitalist who has run away. The capitalist objection to it has obvious answers. To the objection that it costs too much there is the obvious answer that it will produce values greater than the cost —values which will be in the hands of the government either for

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sale on the market or distribution in the form of relief, or for public works. It thus has advantages over the relief system and over "made" work. The objection that it competes with private capitalism has validity only for capitalists; it is surely not of vital concern for the workers.

To the threat of the capitalists that they will be forced by such competition to close down more factories, there is the powerful answer: the more the capitalists will close down, the more the government will open up, and if all the capitalists want to withdraw from production, that's their responsibility. No one is forcing them to do it. As long as they keep running it, the factory is theirs; we are demanding only that the closed factories shall open up, with the capitalist owners if possible, without them if necessary.

The whole question of public works should also be handled concretely by the Farmer-Labor program, not only by fighting for union wages, which is the central issue, but in addition by demanding a change in the character of these public works. Is there any good reason why public works should be so completely dictated by the whims, interests, and profit of the private capitalists, and so little by the needs of the working population? Why should not public funds be spent for serious large-scale housing programs—houses, schools, libraries, community centers in working class communities, which are badly served in this respect? Why are municipal improvements so much confined to business and well-to-do residential sections, and not directed toward working class neighborhoods? These are all living issues, deeply felt among the masses, and should be taken up by the local and state Farmer-Labor Parties.

Another thing we must stress is the demand that the funds for public works and the execution of these works shall not be left in the hands of capitalist and corrupt bureaucrats, but shall be taken up as public control in the trade unions and mass organizations. The issue of public utilities, local, state, and national, needs also serious consideration by the Farmer-Labor Party—all the way from the problem of street car rates and the price of electric light burned in the workers' homes, clear up to the problem of hydro-electric stations, which affect many states, the question of public utilities, holding companies, etc. To this we should join the fight for lower rates, for effective public control, not bureaucratic control, abolition of financial abuses and racketeering, for municipal and government ownership, etc.

Around such demands we shall always fight against illusions that their realization means a step towards socialism. We should point out that these are immediate demands which are strictly in the bounds of capitalism, that they are not merely concessions, but that

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they can be won from the capitalists by a well-organized mass militant movement.

ONLY INTENSIVE ORGANIZATIONAL WORK WILL BRING ABOUT THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

Now we come to the question of building the Farmer-Labor Party. It is not enough just to improve our agitation; we must begin to draw larger masses into building that party. In every small town and city and in every neighborhood where we have even one or two comrades, or a handful of sympathizers, we must bring them into activity directed towards setting up committees for the Farmer-Labor Party representing trade unions, fraternal organizations, Socialists, Communists, with special attention to farmers in agrarian communities, uniting them for common work in preparing for the Farmer-Labor Party, uniting already the broadest possible concentration of forces in every neighborhood, in every town, in every city, in every state. Special groups of organizations should be united together in special committees including language groups, etc. A broad network of such committees within a city should be quickly brought together under a broadly representative city committee for the creation of a Labor Party.

When a sufficiently broad representation is built up, such a committee should proceed to the decisive step of organizing the party itself through a well-prepared conference or convention which would hammer out an agreed upon program, elect a representative leadership and make all necessary preparation to participate independently in the coming elections.

In taking up this task we are, of course, here, as in other questions, confronted with two dangers. One danger is passivity, waiting for something to happen. The Labor Party will not come of itself. It must be fought for, it must be organized. The second danger is the one where our own forces and the immediate sympathetic organizations around us may make a short cut of it and declare themselves the Labor Party. No matter what good intentions we may have here we will not be able to substitute the hard work of building the basis for a Labor Party by revolutionary impatience. There are already several examples of such premature formations. But clearly this is not yet the big danger. The main danger is lagging behind the possibilities which are growing and maturing.

We have already spoken extensively about the agitational tasks. But what is being done in such places organizationally? One thing we must be clear about in the beginning—we cannot place the question of building the Farmer-Labor Party first by developing the

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work successfully among the trade unions and then taking up the task among the other organizations in other strata of the population. Such a mechanical placing of the question will bring very bad results in both directions. But we can say that unless we win the support of the trade unions we cannot talk of a real Labor Party. This is, therefore, the strategic task of forging the Labor Party movement.

But are we doing this? In how many local unions under our influence, where Party fractions function, have we raised the question and committed the local to the Farmer-Labor Party? Unfortunately, in very few cases. Many of our comrades are afraid they will be branded as Reds if they raise in a Left union the question of the Labor Party. Many think it is not necessary to raise it in those organizations we lead—it is sufficient if we raise it in those we do not lead.

More and more we have proof that while in unions not directly under our influence, the issue is taken up, there are times when our own comrades hesitate to bring up the question. This is a form of sectarianism. Perhaps this will not be such a problem now since the Labor Party issue developed such big support in the A. F. of L. convention.

In both New York and Cleveland, if we make a careful survey, we will find a large number of unions that can very easily be brought together into a conference to organize a trade union Committee for the Promotion of a Labor Party. But we also know that such a conference will get much broader support if it is initiated, not only by the unions close to us, but, together with them, other unions in which there are outstanding progressives.

The reported caucus meetings at the American Federation of Labor Convention on the Labor Party, which brought together all unions committed to the Labor Party, shows that this can be done now on an even wider scale in the locals because such a conference on a local scale, in addition to rallying locals affiliated to those unions that stood for a Labor Party in the 55th Convention, can also gather locals from the national organizations whose officials were against the Labor Party in Atlantic City.

We can say in general that the Labor Party movement is connected up most closely with the task of building a progressive movement in the local trade unions and the establishment of joint action with the locals of the Socialist Party. The carrying through of this chief task, the crystallization in the beginning of organization for the Labor Party in the trade unions will assure a solid face for the Labor Party and become the force of attraction for all other organizations of the masses.

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THE SITUATION IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY

And now comes the special questions of the united front with the Socialist Party. When we speak about the situation in the Socialist Party, let us make it clear we are not speculating on or hoping for a break-up of the Socialist Party in the hope that such events will give us a few more members and remove some problems. Such a narrow sectarian attitude towards the Socialist Party has nothing in common with our program.

Our position towards the Socialist Party is that which we laid down at the Seventh World Congress, that is, towards the establishment of united action. We hope that it will be possible in the same form as in France; as long as that is not possible, then on individual questions. How much will this benefit the struggle for the unemployed, the organization of the unorganized, the fight for the Labor Party, etc., if our two parties work jointly for these measures? Furthermore, our line is for the ultimate unification of Socialists and Communists into one revolutionary party of the working class. This will become possible the more we develop successful united action, the more our Socialist comrades break with the "Old Guard" reactionary forces, isolate them and defeat them, and when these comrades are ready, by the experience of the struggle itself, to adopt a real, consistent revolutionary position.

We are anxiously studying the Socialist Party inner development, however, in order to see which way that Party is going, whether it will become a factor for progress and unity of the working class and the people's movement against fascism, or whether it will go along the path of reaction and finally become an instrument toward the development of fascism in America. Factors making for both these courses exist in the Socialist Party. They are engaging in struggle, and the issue is not yet entirely closed.

At the Seventh World Congress we noted with alarm that the national leaders of the Militant section of the Socialist Party at the simultaneous July meeting of the National Executive Committee had made a peace pact with the "Old Guard" reactionaries. This would not have been bad at all if it had been a pact in which the "Old Guard" made peace with the inevitable Leftward move of the membership and were reconciled to moving in the direction of the united front. But it was clear that the "Old Guard" had no such idea. Their idea was just the opposite. They thought that the Militants had made their peace with "Old Guardism", an alliance with Hearst and Woll; while the Militants did not then make clear that this was not their attitude. But within a few weeks after the signing of that peace pact, it became clear that there was no peace at all, but rather the beginning of a new and higher stage of struggle.

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We cannot be indifferent to this development; what happens inside the Socialist Party is of concern to the entire working class, and therefore also to us Communists.

It is of enormous significance to establish what was the rock on which the peace pact was wrecked within a few weeks after it had been signed. That rock was the issue of the united front in its most concrete expression in the daily work of activity of members of a trade union, specifically, the Teachers' Union. The "Old Guard" demanded the unconditional subordination of the Socialist teachers to the reactionary administration of the Teachers' Union in a move towards the Right, in the wrecking of the democracy of the union and its subordination to a Right-wing dictatorship. Really, the Right wing was in the role of teaching the teachers the road to fascism. All the progressive forces in the union rallied in a broad united front to resist this reactionary movement. The Militant Socialists had to choose which way they would go—the "Old Guard" way, the Hearst way of a united front with reaction, or the Left-wing way, towards the united front of all progressive forces including the Communists. The issue was clear-cut, so immediate, so concrete, that all the honest Socialists, no matter what their degree of militancy is, no matter how deep their prejudice against Communists, no matter how many times or how energetically they fought against the united front, could no longer hesitate. We must greet with joy the fact that they chose the road of the progressive united front, even though they had to come fresh from the committee room from which they signed the peace pact with the "Old Guard". That was a heartening sign of an essentially healthy development, not of apparent surrender to the "Old Guard", not of deliberate choice to move towards the "Old Guard". It was the sign of invincible power of the urge towards unity that is moving among the masses. It was a sign that there exists every possibility for the great majority of the Socialist Party to take its place as a force for progress among the American masses.

We don't stand aside as passive observers, registering the developments in the Socialist Party. We have done everything we could to give practical help to those who move towards unity, to all progressive forces. We will continue to go out of our way to make the road toward unity constantly easier. We have made, and we will make, all the necessary concessions to this, so long as we are not called upon to make concessions of principle.

We gathered valuable fruits from the lessons of the struggle among the teachers. These lessons were applied in an unprecedented scale at the American Federation of Labor convention. And here Socialists and Communists learned how valuable joint work could be

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through this unity which rallied broader groups of our forces for a Labor Party and played a great role in carrying forward the historic cleavage of the old bureaucracy by a big vote for industrial unionism, a bloc consisting of 40 per cent of the whole convention of the American Federation of Labor.

It is in the light of these developments that we must estimate the meaning of the great mass interest that has developed in the coming debate with Norman Thomas in Madison Square Garden. That mass interest shows how deeply the masses feel the issue of the united front. The announcement of this debate and the unprecedented support it immediately received is already a smashing defeat to the "Old Guard", which is testified to by their hysterical rage against Norman Thomas. It reveals the tremendous reserves that the Militant Socialists have at their disposal in their fight against the "Old Guard" if they will only come out with a bold, clear stand on the question of unity.

At the October meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, the appeal of our Party for united action against Italian aggression and to meet the immediate danger of war was laid over for future action. At the same time, the N.E.C. voted to send a copy of their resolution on war to our Party—an action denounced by the "Old Guard" as an unprecedented friendly gesture towards us. Thus the National Executive Committee registered approximately the same point in the movement towards united action that the Brussels meeting of the Second International did, where five parties out of seventeen represented were able to prevent the decision on the appeal of the Comintern. It will be necessary to win larger and more energetic support among Socialist Party members and local organizations in order to convince the National Executive Committee of the practicability and necessity for affirmative action on the united front. In every city what is now required is that the leading comrades shall establish the most friendly, helpful connections with the Socialists, and that in every shop and union Communists and Socialists shall establish friendly relations, and utilize every opportunity to develop discussions on the issues of the day, both to bring out and clarify the points of difference between us, and to consolidate the growing points of agreement which must be transferred into common action, even without formal agreements, when these cannot yet be arrived at, but as quickly as possible to pass over to the stage of formal, definite pacts and agreements.

OUR WORK IN THE TRADE UNIONS DECISIVE FOR ALL OTHER FIELDS OF WORK

Comrades, I now want to discuss some aspects of the trade union

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question. We have always emphasized that the basis of the work for the Farmer-Labor Party, and all the large scale united front movement, is in the trade unions, and that our work in the trade unions is decisive for all other fields of work.

What are the special features of the trade union situation? What are the new details that arise out of our tasks in the trade unions, and in the field of economic struggle in general?

First of all, let us make a little review of the factors which brought about the present situation in the trade union movement. The advance toward trade union organization that began in the first months of 1933 has now been checked. The workers in the basic industries, especially the steel workers, and the auto workers, and generally the workers in the decisive mass production industries remain for the most part unorganized. Moreover, in the recent period there has been developing a well-organized, persistent attack by the capitalists against all efforts to organize the unorganized. This effort, further, more and more becomes an attempt to smash the existing unions, particularly the largest unions organized on an industrial basis, the United Mine Workers of America, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the United Textile Workers. As part of this movement we can cite the recent attempt of the shipowners to break the maritime unions on the Pacific Coast, and the brutal suppression now mobilized against the striking longshoremen on the Gulf Coast. These attacks on the unions, and upon all workers fighting to improve their conditions, become ever sharper. Police brutality and use of the militia in strikes have added dozens of victims to the large numbers since the beginning of the New Deal. Violence is especially widespread in the South where over fifteen workers were killed, and many times that number wounded in the recent strikes of the miners and longshoremen. This condition confronts workers everywhere.

Since the voiding of the N.R.A. by the United States Supreme Court, a decision which only confirmed that the N.R.A. had already fulfilled its purpose for the ruling class and was the signal for a fresh onslaught on the workers, wages have been lowered, hours lengthened, and conditions generally worsened—especially in the industries where the workers' organizations were not strong enough to offer immediate resistance. Only where the unions were strong and met the challenge of the capitalists with full determination were the workers able to defeat the bosses' attack. As a concrete example, we can compare the situation of the miners as against that of the textile workers in those centers where the latter are largely unorganized, particularly in the South. The miners were able to force at least some additional concessions in the new agree-

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ment, while the textile workers suffered in the last period considerable lowering of wages, with increases in hours of labor.

But even those workers who have maintained or even slightly increased their wages have in reality suffered a decline in their standards of living due to the rise in living costs, which more than wiped out the gains since the beginning of the Roosevelt administration, even where money wages were increased. The high hopes promised by the leadership of the American Federation of Labor in the Wagner Bill have not materialized, and it is becoming apparent to the masses of workers that this measure, like the N.R.A., offers no guarantees of collective bargaining unless workers can enforce this right through organization.

This condition of the American working class today is a direct result of the unwillingness and inability of the leadership of the A. F. of L., and of the various international unions, to organize effective resistance to the capitalist attacks—a result of its reliance on, and practice of, the policy of class collaboration. More than that, the A. F. of L. Council and its policies served to defeat the workers, wherever they undertook to organize themselves and carry on struggle against the capitalists. The upsurge of 1933 brought hundreds of thousands of workers into the American Federation of Labor. Among these there were great sections from the basic industries. These workers, organizing to improve their conditions, and ready to sacrifice to build their union, found, instead of encouragement and support, obstacles placed in their way by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy in its policy of class collaboration, reliance upon governmental measures, attempts to disrupt newly formed organizations, and enforcing of old, outworn and bankrupt craft union policies in the mass production industries. Hence millions of workers were forced into the company unions, and the efforts of the workers to join the American Federation of Labor were checked because of loss of strikes, etc., in this way enabling the capitalists to carry through their attack.

The A. F. of L. Council, in its report to the Fifty-fifth Convention, try as it might, could not escape reflecting this condition. While at previous conventions held since the New Deal, the leadership could still cover up this policy with promises, in this convention all they could do was to try to hide their failure to build the unions, hide the setback of the labor movement generally with attempted praise for the "successes" achieved on the legislative front. But as we know, this attempt succeeded very little. For the workers are growing very skeptical about these legislative "victories" as a result of their experience with the so-called "Security" Bill, Wagner Law, etc. Even the Guffey Bill, the workers understand, came only after a

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show of strength on the part of the miners during the strike by which the miners secured some improvement in their agreement, while the Guffey Bill did not help to organize the miners in the captive mines who were forced into company unions.

Only if we understand and correctly estimate these developments can we correctly estimate the meaning and significance of the serious rift in the top leadership of the American Federation of Labor that showed itself in the Fifty-fifth Convention. In order to understand the sharpness of the struggle that took place at the convention, we must not stop with a superficial view of the main issue that divided the convention, namely, the question of industrial unionism versus craft unionism.

THE INDUSTRIAL UNION BLOC IN THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

To a greater or less extent the advocates of industrial unionism reflected not only the disappointment of the masses with the old American Federation of Labor policies, but also reflected the growing fear of fascism in the United States, the fear of the complete destruction of the trade union movement. They showed a growing understanding that the continuing of the old policies and methods will destroy the unions, will repeat the German experience in America. This was clearly indicated in the remarks of John L. Lewis.

> "There are forces at work in this country that would wipe out, if they could, the labor movement of America, just as it was wiped out in Germany or just as it was wiped out in Italy."

This note was sounded in the speech of Philip Murray, Sidney Hillman, and many others, and was presented in its ripest form in the speech of Francis Gorman who, understanding that the New Deal is no barrier to this development, was able to present this viewpoint in a more advanced form and draw the logical conclusion from it by advocating a break with the old parties and the building of a Labor Party. Gorman said:

> "We looked with what now seems to us to be a naive faith, to the proponents of the New Deal, believing, I guess, that it meant a New Deal for Labor. We have been disappointed. . . ."

In dealing directly with the present renewed attacks on the trade union movement Gorman further said:

> "This we have learned to expect from big business and the financial tycoons of this country. But we have learned an even more important lesson—we have learned that the efforts to destroy the trade union movement will go untrammelled by the government. We have learned that the government leans on big business. We have

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learned that the Republican Party means destruction to the workers, and that the New Deal means a New Deal for big business and a "Raw Deal" for labor."

We, of course, cannot but welcome the position taken by those who fought for industrial unionism at the American Federation of Labor convention, especially those who fought for the Labor Party. We are by no means jealous that they had to repeat the arguments which we have for a long time brought forward. On the contrary, we are very happy that the issues of amalgamation, industrial unionism, the Labor Party, etc., for which the Trade Union Unity League under Foster's leadership, with the Party, had fought for years past, that these issues have now become the issues of the masses and whole sections of the organized labor movement. John L. Lewis, who was the spokesman for the industrial union bloc at the convention, openly charged that the experiences of the American Federation of Labor throughout its existence and especially in the last year have fully demonstrated that the old craft unions are incapable of organizing the millions of unorganized. It is encouraging to note that the issue was not debated on abstract grounds, but as an issue that is bound up with the life and death of the trade union movement—the organization of the millions of unorganized workers. And furthermore, that the issue of organization of the unorganized was correctly placed as a question which will be a chief factor in determining the ability of the masses to beat back and defeat the growing reaction, the threat of fascism.

The industrial union bloc, through the initiative of Lewis, was also responsible for the historic decision of the Fifty-fifth Convention which declared that "no officer of the American Federation of Labor shall act as an officer of the National Civic Federation or be a member thereof". This decision hits at the very root of the class collaboration policy of the A. F. of L.

THE GROWING MASS OPPOSITION TO THE CLASS-COLLABORATION POLICY OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

There is a growing sentiment among the masses against the whole class-collaboration policy of the American Federation of Labor. Our Party forces and those whom we influenced among the delegates of the American Federation of Labor Convention fully supported the industrial unionism bloc of which they were a part. On the Labor Party issue, the mine workers' delegation, the printers and others who supported the industrial union fight and other progressive measures parted company with a smaller bloc of delegates representing some 5,000 convention votes as compared to the 11,000 rallied for the industrial union bloc. But even in this smaller bloc

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a number of old time leaders, because of the decisions of their conventions, were to be listed . . . with their hearts still in the New Deal. Gorman in this group of the old leaders stood out as the most consistent fighter for the Labor Party. On other issues only the Communists and the Socialists swinging to the Left carried out the fight to the end. This is particularly true in regards to the modified amendment against the Communists, which represented a defeat for the original plans laid by the Executive Council but which still registered an attack directed against us which must be defeated.

What conclusions can we draw from the development of the Fifty-fifth Convention? Some comrades, a very few, are already claiming that we are making an alliance with those who in the past betrayed the workers. They ask us what guarantees have we that these people will not in the future betray the workers. And we answer, we have no guarantees. They ask, furthermore, how can we unite with Lewis and the rest, who, while they talk radical, deny democracy to the workers in the unions which they head? But this is not the question. We most assuredly will not agree with their methods in their own labor unions, but on the contrary will fight against those methods which are directed against the interests of the workers in the trade unions. A typical question which we face nowadays is whether we can give any guarantee of the sincerity of these leaders. How do we answer all these questions? What is really our position? What tasks flow from this situation? The fact is that at the American Federation of Labor convention we found two camps arrayed one against the other. The issue which divided them was the issue of industrial unionism, the issue of the organization of the unorganized. The whole development of the labor movement, the growing sense of the danger of reaction which threatens the existence of the trade unions, was keenly felt at this convention. These two camps tended to line up on opposite sides on many other issues vital to the labor movement, besides the industrial unionism issue, with the industrial union side taking a progressive position, and the reactionary side a reactionary position. There were such issues as trade union democracy, the organization of the Negro workers, the organization of the youth, the Civic Federation, and even the anti-Red amendment, the first draft of which was definitely defeated by the industrial union bloc. The progressive, or more correctly speaking, the industrial union bloc was not and could not be a homogeneous, solid group. The reactionary group was of course more homogeneous, united on the side of reaction by fear of anything progressive. Republicans like Hutchison, Democrats of the Right-wing type who are definitely allied with Hearst, like Matthew Woll, "Old-Guard" Socialists belonged to this bloc. In the industrial union bloc were

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represented Roosevelt Democrats, Socialists, Communists, and the sympathizers of the latter two, and in general honest progressive trade unionists with a strong inclination for a Labor Party.

We must undertake to get a clear characterization of the Lewis, Howard, Hillman group in the American Federation of Labor. On the basis of such a characterization, we must determine our attitude toward it. This group is fighting for a basic issue in the life of the American working class—organizing the unorganized into industrial unions. This is one of those crucial points which will strengthen the American working class tremendously and enable it to struggle for its class interests all along the line. It is clear that this issue will be supported by us, by all possible means. At the same time it must be said that the Lewis, Howard, Hillman group has not drawn all the conclusions from its struggle for industrial unionism. It has not yet drawn the conclusion that the struggle demands true trade union unity on the basis of class struggle policies which is totally incompatible with Red-baiting. On the contrary, Communists and militant class-conscious workers are a necessary part of the consistent struggle for industrial unionism. And another conclusion which must be drawn by the Lewis, Howard, Hillman group, if it shall consistently carry out this fight, is that the tremendous task of organizing the unorganized demands the restoring of trade union democracy in their own unions as well as its establishment in the new unions that are brought into being. It is clear that with the United Mine Workers, the textile workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and others in this group, these will be able to accomplish their task of being a driving force in the organization of the unorganized, not only in their unions but in others, only if their own unions are made stronger. And this cannot be done without trade union democracy.

Another conclusion of fundamental importance: the need of organizing the unorganized into industrial unions brings forth most sharply the need of a Farmer-Labor Party. It is clear that the tie-up between certain trade unions and Roosevelt, and between certain trade unions and the Republicans, militates strongly against the ability of these unions to organize the unorganized. It is also clear that the birth of a strong Farmer-Labor Party, especially in towns of basic unorganized industry, will prove a powerful support to the organization of the unorganized. In short, the Lewis, Howard, Hillman group is waging an important historic fight, and waging it closely, a fight which must be supported by us by all means. But the effectiveness of this fight and its eventual success will depend primarily upon the drawing of the conclusions I have just described.

It is our task to make the labor movement conscious of these

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conclusions, to inspire the unorganized and organized workers for the need of fighting for the realization of these additional measures. The Communists will, after the Convention, support as they did in the Convention, every move of these progressive forces for the organization of the unorganized, etc. But, we will in no way be bound by any limitations that these leaders may try to impose on our independent activities. In the organizations which these leaders represent we will also support them, and every step they take to mobilize the masses to fight against the employers, to fight against the reactionaries. At the same time, we will conduct the fight there against their policy of supporting Roosevelt, trying, against them, to mobilize the masses, in their organizations, for the Labor Party. We shall, as before, fight against every measure they take to restrict the democratic rights, or hold back the initiative of the workers. We shall not forget their records in the past, but at the same time we will be ready to welcome any genuine change on their part, and to re-value our position towards them when the situation requires it. In a world where great changes are taking place, there may be many surprises for us—surprises in both directions. It is not impossible, at a time when the masses are moving to the Left, taking the first steps, breaking with the capitalist parties, that some of these leaders may also be carried along this road. But we shall make our decision with eyes open and in consultation with the masses. We shall judge every group and every leader not merely by words, but by the actual steps they take and the support they give to the workers in their own unions and in the labor movement generally, towards the organization of the unorganized, the establishment of industrial unions, combatting of company unions, and the winning of the masses in them to the trade unions, etc.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF OUR PARTY IN THE PRESENT TRADE UNION SITUATION

In this connection, we must level against them the justified and necessary criticisms for voting for the anti-Communist amendment, even in its limited form. The industrial union bloc prevented the adoption of the original amendment, but in the end they voted for the modified amendment. Above all, we shall see how they try to unite in their own unions all the workers, Communists included, and whether or not they will lend their support in the central bodies against the reactionaries, who will try to use the anti-Communist amendment that they voted for, to split the forces of the workers. In the same manner, we must say that while we are ready to support every step in the direction of organization of the workers, in the long run, this will not be possible fully so long as these leaders

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continue to keep their followers chained to one or the other of the capitalist parties. We cannot unite workers successfully in the trade unions, and carry through economic struggles, while at the same time leaving them in regard to some of the most vital questions of the day at the mercy of the capitalist parties without any effort to organize the workers as an independent force.

Our Party faces a great responsibility in the present trade union situation. If we are armed with a correct understanding of these forces, with a membership consisting of the most advanced, most self-sacrificing workers, disciplined as no other organization can be, we can, and must play a powerful role in this whole progressive development of the broad trade union movement. In order more fully to carry through this role, we must complete the organization of the unorganized Communists, those who are eligible but have not yet joined trade unions. All Party organizations must consider it one of their central tasks to bring the Communists into the organized trade union movement. Our press must make this a central task, giving the maximum of support to every union and every group of workers who are unorganized into organization. Our fractions in the mass fraternal organizations, many of which have in them tremendous bodies of workers in the basic industries, but who are not in the trade unions, must become of more practical help in bringing these workers into the trade union movement. Similarly our fractions in the organizations of Negro workers, of the youth, of women, etc., must become the builders of the trade unions. The Party shop units and the fractions must consider this task. Unfortunately we have in many instances shop units in large factories, who do very little to build the trade unions in these factories. We have in mind one instance of an auto industry, where the number of workers in the union are about the same as the number of Party members in the plant. In this same plant only one-third of the Party members belong to the trade unions. What a force to build the union this shop unit could become if all the Party members would join and take part in the work! We have had some examples where our comrades in the shops were formerly in the unions of the T.U.U.L. and then they considered it their task to build the union. But now since they have become part of the American Federation of Labor they no longer consider it their task to build the unions.

With regard to the company unions. This question has been dramatized recently in the steel industry where a convention was held of eleven different plant unions of one steel corporation which came together and drew up demands for a 15 per cent wage increase and for vacations with pay. This only emphasizes the need of penetrating the company unions and work for the winning of the workers

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for the trade unions. This cannot be done merely by issing circulars and leaflets calling on the workers to leave the company unions and join the trade unions. It is necessary to learn how to use the very machinery of the company unions to raise issues on behalf of the workers, develop them to the point of an open break, on the basis of their experience and confidence. One of the things which is holding back more rapid development of this movement inside the company unions is the present policy of the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy which resists all efforts to give any direction and leadership to these workers in the company unions. The steel workers, for example, were not attracted to the Amalgamated Association very much by the arbitrary expulsions of the rank and file because they wished to fight against the steel trust; nor are the steel workers attracted from the company unions to the Amalgamated Association when they see in many cases that the A.A. demands wages that are even less than the workers are now getting.

While on the subject of the steel industry, I think especially here our Party must enter with all of its forces and resources in the campaign of organizing the unorganized. There is some promise that with the reinstatement of the expelled lodges, thanks to the correct tactics of the progressives in the union, some serious progress can now be made. But we must not sit back and wait for it. We must be the most energetic forces driving for progress. Similar campaigns must be developed in auto and other industries. For some time we have tried to apply ourselves to the broadening out of the Left-wing movement in the trade unions. We raised this question in the January Plenum and many times since then. We have made considerable progress in some places. The joint work of the Socialists and Communists and progressives in the American Federation of Labor Convention within the industrial union bloc and independents on a number of issues shows that the situation is now ripe for bringing together all progressive forces in each union and in every locality. The experiences in Cleveland, the work in auto, steel and other industries, the important developments in the Teachers' Union, in some sections of the ladies' garment workers, show this movement is developing and must be taken up systematically, with a speedier tempo.

It is necessary to point out the existence of a certain danger that we must guard against. The feeling may creep in among the progressives in the labor movement that everything can be left to the Lewis group and the Lewis Committee—a national committee that has just been established. The Lewis Committee will be best able to achieve its aims if it is backed up in every local union by wide, capable, militant progressive forces. Without these forces it

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will not do much. To fail to build up such forces in the local union means to render a disservice to the cause of organizing the unorganized and to the Lewis group itself. We must say, secondly, it is our task also to widen the vision of the forces around the Lewis group, to do all in our power to educate them to see that the conclusions, which we have spoken of as being necessary, shall be drawn by this group and their followers. This can be accomplished by the organization of the progressive forces on the widest possible basis in each union and in each locality. Failure to do this will react against the success of industrial unionism and of organizing the unorganized.

FOR INTENSIFYING THE STRUGGLES OF THE UNEMPLOYED

A few words now with regard to the problem of the unemployed. The unemployed army remains almost stationary even in the conditions of some increase in production. This presents a problem. The workers must take up the fight against increased speed-up. We have seen this speed-up developed to an unprecedented degree. The question should be taken into consideration especially in connection with the fight for a six-hour day and 30-hour week. One word of warning in this respect. Our Party must understand that we do not fight against the introduction of machinery in industry. We do fight for the protection of the interests of the workers and where the introduction of machinery is used for speed-up, we fight against this and for organized control of the introduction of machinery, to provide for work. We are not machine smashers. We are the enemies of the use of this progress by the capitalists to worsen the conditions of the working class.

Already with the announcement of the new Roosevelt works program some months ago, we knew that millions who were taken off relief rolls would not get jobs. These are the victims of capitalism whom Roosevelt calls unemployables, for whom local and state governments must care, while these agencies themselves are cutting down expenditures on the theory that the federal government is providing work. As a result of this, distress is rising among millions of unemployed with the threat of actual starvation. The whole working class must be rallied to demand adequate relief for those who in the coming months will be again thrown out of federal jobs. An immediate task is to spread the fight which has been successfully carried through in some cities with the assistance of the trade unions for the payment of prevailing wages on public works. The whole trade union movement must be rallied to the fight for a living wage to these workers. One of the most important tasks is the fight against discrimination practised against the Negro people. Another burning problem is to win the right to organize on these jobs.

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In connection with the fight for unemployment insurance, now that everyone can see that the so-called Security Bill does not provide any relief for the unemployed, with only a few states having enacted legislation even to provide the miserable security, it is necessary now to extend and raise to a higher level the fight for genuine social insurance, for the Workers' Unemployment, Old Age and Social Insurance Bill, H.R. 2827. The fact that even William Green was compelled to state that the Roosevelt Security Insurance Law was inadequate should now make it possible to advance this fight more in the American Federation of Labor unions. One of the basic reasons for the inability to develop more intensive struggles for the unemployed is the still existing division into many organizations. This division itself keeps large sections of the unemployed out of all organizations. We have for some time been fighting for the unification of all these mass organizations of the unemployed. We must now take more definite energetic steps to bring this unification about. Party members already in the Unemployment Councils have been successful in committing the Councils to this policy of unification. Unfortunately, those organizations under the Socialist leadership, like the Unemployed Workers' Alliance, thus far have not been seen fit to join in such unification. There have been even attempts by them to unite with smaller unemployed organizations, with the exclusion of the Unemployment Council—the oldest and largest of these unemployed organizations.

What reason can there be for this? To date there has been only one reason given. That is, unity with the Communists would endanger the relations with the American Federation of Labor. But can they deny that though they claim they are for unity, such an argument is just repeating the same arguments that Abe Cahan and Jim Oneal give? We hope that these leaders of the Workers' Alliance will see the danger of their position and the crime that they are committing against the unemployed by contributing even in the least to keeping these organizations divided.

We, on our part, are prepared to do everything necessary to advance unification and to appeal to and convince all organizations to carry through this policy.

THE NEGRO NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

There are important recent developments which must be noted in the national liberation movement among the Negroes. First, there is a general upswing of mass struggle among workers and sharecroppers. As a result the question of Negro workers in the trade unions, the struggle against discrimination, has assumed great importance. The struggles of the sharecroppers have opened up new pos-

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sibilities in the fight to improve the conditions of the most exploited section of the Negro population, against national oppression, and for joint struggle with white and Negro tenant farmers and sharecroppers. Then, too, there is the movement to the Left on the part of important sections of the Garveyites and also of the national reformist organizations, the N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League, etc. There is also the rise of the important movement for the National Negro Congress which rises out of these mass developments and which promises to embrace the wide masses of Negro people into a powerful movement for Negro rights and Negro liberation. The National Negro Congress movement was last month endorsed by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. Consequently, there arises for our Party a number of important political tasks. I will list these briefly:

1. To intensify the struggle for the organization of the Negro workers into the trade unions. To build up the widest united front for the breaking down of all barriers of discrimination. To develop the struggle for equal access to jobs and for Negro equality.

2. To prosecute most energetically the work of organizing the Negro farmers, the tenant and sharecroppers, to fight for their economic and political demands, and to seek to promote the unity of action of Negro and white farmers.

3. To render the utmost support to the Negro Congress in order to help it become the people's movement of the Negroes for equal rights and complete liberation. To mobilize the masses of white toilers against lynching and all forms of jim-crow rule and oppression.

Some people think because we do not insist that the issue of the right to self-determination be adopted now by the Negro Congress, our Party is abandoning its revolutionary demand for the right to self-determination in the Black Belt in the South. Nothing is further from the truth. Never was it more clear than it is today that the complete liberation of the people in the Black Belt will be accomplished only by the revolutionary overthrow of the white landlords and capitalists, the destruction of the semi-slave agricultural relations and the realization of the right to self-determination. But there is a problem which we must face. And how must we face it? The problem is how to link up the daily struggles of the Negro masses in the Black Belt today for their partial economic and political demands with our revolutionary slogan for the right to self-determination. It is clear that the Negro masses are not yet ready to carry through the revolution which would make possible the right to self-determination. But they are ready to fight against jim-crowism and oppression, for democratic rights and other partial economic and political demands. Our task, therefore, is not to stand

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passively by and wait until the Negro toilers become ready for the revolution. No! Our task is to join with them in the organization for their immediate struggle and strengthen their position economically and politically, strengthen the bonds between the white and Negro toilers, and in this way create the transition to the revolutionary struggle which will make possible the realization of the right of the Negro masses in the Black Belt to self-determination.

In the meantime, we must continue to conduct the most careful, the most detailed, the most persistent agitation and propaganda for the slogan of the right to self-determination. We must carry the discussion of this question into the ranks of the reformist organizations. It is possible to do this. I would call to your attention the fact, for example, that the Negro magazine, *The Crisis*, published by the N.A.A.C.P., which in the October issue carried a very sharp attack against us on the grounds that we were advocates of jim-crowing of Negroes through self-determination—this magazine has agreed to publish a letter refuting this, and giving argument against this, which I wrote to the editor. We should constantly take advantage of every opportunity to carry this question of self-determination to the broadest possible masses, at the same time not attempting to make this a condition for the broadening out of the united front among the Negroes.

IN THE FIELD OF LABOR DEFENSE

It is not very often that we speak of the defense problems at the Plenums of the Central Committee. Very often we only bring such question to the Central Committee when we have complaints to make in regard to the handling of some matter by the I.L.D. The I.L.D., in the period of its existence, and, especially in the last year or two, has won for itself the admiration and support of wide circles of workers, farmers, middle class, and professional groups. It has performed with the small forces at its disposal what can be called miracles. When we consider the constantly increasing problems with which it is confronted, such as terror against the masses in various localities in the South, in California, in some sections of the Middle West, we can say that it is nothing short of a miracle that the I.L.D. has been able to meet this great mountain of problems with its small resources. Just to mention the Scottsboro case, the Herndon case, the Sacramento cases, the Burlington case, the Gallup cases, which the I.L.D. has recently had to conduct, is to show the tremendous problems facing the defense.

There are, of course, thousands of smaller cases, all the time. In addition, the I.L.D. has given great assistance to cases which it is not handling directly, outstanding among them, of course, being

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that of the oldest, best-known political prisoner of the country, Tom Mooney, and McNamara, and the Terre Haute case.

The pressure of defense cases has lately grown tremendously. Where before we were confronted with an occasional case, now we have thousands for every one of them. In every struggle there are increasing victims of capitalist class justice. In California the situation is very acute: that state famous for its frame-ups and persecution—Mooney, Imperial Valley; lately, to the Sacramento case has been added the case of Louise Todd and the Anita Whitney case—where comrades are being sent to prison for long terms on technical violation of election laws, which occur every day with every party, and for which there was never a thought of prosecution except where they found that this was a way to keep the Communist Party out of the elections.

The South is experiencing the sharpest terror directed, in the first place, against the Negro people.

Other groups besides the I.L.D. have become active in this field. There is the American Civil Liberties Union, which has been most helpful in many cases. We must mention groups around Norman Thomas and others. In the Herndon case, we saw the first beginnings of a broad united front of defense, which is very promising, and in which Thomas played a big role. We must now try to find the road to a united labor defense to include Socialists, Communists, liberals—all those who fight for civil liberties and workers' rights, against injustice and capitalist frame-up. The fact that this issue was the subject of a heated debate at the last American Federation of Labor convention is further proof that conditions are ripe for such an organization, in which the I.L.D. should become an organic part. As far as we Communists are concerned, we declare that we are ready to throw all of our influence to such a unification movement in the field of labor defense.

(I want to interrupt my report to give you some news on the British elections which has just come in. Elected as a Communist Member of Parliament, Comrade Willie Gallacher of the British Communist Party, Member of the E.C.C.I. [*Wild applause.*])

HOW SHALL WE PREPARE OUR PARTY TO APPLY THE TACTICAL LINE OF THE COMINTERN?

Comrades, we now come to the last sections: the re-orientation and re-education of the Party. Why is it necessary to speak about this? Because, unless we quickly overcome the past methods, unless we educate the members in the new spirit of orientation of the Seventh World Congress, we will be unable to carry through the new tasks we have spoken about. Above all, this calls for a complete

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break with what the Seventh Congress spoke of as self-satisfied sectarianism. This sectarianism almost ruined our Party during the period of partial stabilization of capitalism. It was carried over into the present period and resulted in overestimation of the radicalization of the masses and underestimation of the forces of our enemy. It was substituting revolutionary impatience and desire for overthrow of capitalism for the hard work of winning the masses for the struggle to overthrow capitalism. It is also a result of the failure to understand that now we are no longer in the stage merely of gathering the advanced forces of the working class and the formation of the Communist Party. Now we are in the stage where we must be among the millions, learn how to move them in struggle in the defense of their immediate economic needs, against political reaction and the menace of fascism, against the threatening world imperialist war which is more and more being developed by the imperialists as the crisis is not and cannot be solved in the old way.

To meet this new situation the Seventh World Congress reshaped the tactical line. We must remember the words of Comrade Dimitroff, who said in closing his speech:

> "Standing firmly on the impregnable position of Marxism-Leninism, which has been confirmed by the entire experience of the international labor movement, and primarily by the victories of the great October Revolution, our Congress, acting in the spirit and guided by the method of *living Marxism-Leninism*, has reshaped the tactical lines of the Communist International to meet the changed world situation.
>
> "The Congress has taken a firm decision that the united front tactics must be applied *in a new way*. The Congress is emphatic in its demands that Communists do not content themselves with the mere propaganda of general slogans about proletarian dictatorship and Soviet Power, but that they pursue a definite, active, Bolshevik policy with regard to all internal and foreign political questions arising in their country, with regard to all urgent problems that affect the vital interests of the working class, of their own people and of the international labor movement. The Congress insists most emphatically that all tactical steps taken by the Communist Parties be based on a sober analysis of actual conditions, on a consideration of the relation of class forces, and of the political level of the broadest masses. The Congress demands the complete eradication of every vestige of *sectarianism* from the practice of the Communist movement, as this represents at present the greatest obstacle in the way of the Communist Parties carrying out a really mass, really Bolshevik policy.
>
> "While imbued with the determination to carry out this tactical line and filled with the conviction that this road will lead our Parties to major successes, the Congress has at the same time taken into account the possibility that the carrying out of this Bolshevik line may not always be smooth sailing, may not always proceed without mistakes, without deviations here and there to the Right or to the 'Left'—deviations in the direction of *adaptation of trailing behind events and the movement*, or in the direction of *sectarian self-isolation*. Which

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of these constitutes, 'speaking generally', the main danger is a dispute in which only scholastics can engage. The greater and worse danger is that which at any given moment and in any given country represents the greater obstacle to the carrying out of the line of our Congress, to the development of the correct mass policy of the Communist Parties.

"The cause of Communism demands not abstract, but concrete struggle against deviations, the prompt and determined rebuff, of all harmful tendencies, as they arise, and timely rectification of mistakes. To replace the necessary concrete struggle against deviations by peculiar sport—hunting imaginary deviations or deviators—is an intolerably harmful twist. In our Party practice every encouragement must be given to develop initiative in formulating new questions. We must assist in having the questions concerning the activity of the Party discussed from every angle and not hastily set down as a deviation every doubt or critical remark made by a Party member with reference to practical problems of the movement. A comrade who committed an error must be given an opportunity to correct it in practice, and only those who stubbornly persist in their mistakes and who disorganize the Party are to be flayed without mercy."

It is not enough that we here, and our leading forces in general, shall study the decisions of the Congress, the great and historical report of Comrade Dimitroff. It is necessary that the entire Party membership shall discuss them, master them and learn how to apply them. For this purpose we must exert all energy to carry through the directives of the Central Committee in organizing discussions in the Party organizations, special classes for the study of the Congress, not merely casual reading through of the report, but detailed study, the breaking up of reports into composite parts and the detailed examination of every part. See to it that all our comrades read and study the resolutions and speeches, especially the report of Comrade Dimitroff.

We must help the Party members master the decisions by answering all their questions. We must not assume that everything will be at once understood. We must translate each important decision in terms of the daily practical problems in the factories, in the trade unions, in terms of the tasks of building the united front, of the struggle against war and fascism, etc. Only in this way will we really be popularizing and bringing to the Party and the masses the decisions of the Seventh World Congress in the spirit of these decisions. More than that, these decisions must become the property of the broadest masses. We have already taken some steps in this direction through mass meetings, through open forums and through the issuance of the resolutions and main reports in hundreds of thousands of copies through our press and special pamphlets. We are now issuing Comrade Dimitroff's report in an abridged four-page leaflet, which we hope to circulate in millions of capies. This

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is a very important task in connection with the building of the Party in the trade unions, in the building of the Labor Party, in the fight for the establishment of the united front with the Socialists. Comrade Dimitroff emphasized the importance of bringing the Congress decisions to the masses in his closing speech in the following words:

> "So much the greater our duty as Communists to render the decisions of the Congress in actual fact the property of the entire working class. To have voted for these decisions is not enough. Nor is it enough to popularize them among the members of the Communist Parties. We want the workers affiliated with the parties of the Second International and the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, as well as the workers affiliated with organizations of other political trends, to discuss these decisions jointly with us, bring in their amendments and make practical proposals; we want them to deliberate jointly with us how decisions can best be carried into life, how they can best realize them in practice jointly with us, hand in hand."

Now, some words with regard to the problems of cadres. At the May Plenum of the Central Committee we spent much time discussing this question. We took to heart the historic speech of Comrade Stalin regarding the question of cadres, but we have not yet made the basic change in solving this problem, although there have been some attempts and here and there some advances. The problem of selecting and training cadres is for us a burning task, especially from the basic industries, from native-born workers, bearing in mind that the Open Letter that we gave the Party in 1933 with its policy of concentration remains for us a central directive. The solution of this problem will in the last analysis determine how far and with what success we will carry out our plans. Decisions, resolutions and plans by themselves, no matter how good, will not solve the problems in our mass work, unless we have a trained body of comrades capable and willing to carry out these decisions and give them meaning and life.

Why is it we have not solved the problem of the continued poor life of our lower organizations—the sections and units? Why are our trade union fractions not able to take advantage of the very favorable conditions for work? Why is recruiting to the Party unsatisfactory? Why is the turnover in our membership still intolerably large? Why are we at times unable to answer the numerous question workers confront us with or at times unable to convince them as to the correctness of our proposals, as, for example, in the recent election campaign? The answer to all these questions is because we lack sufficient trained and well-organized cadres, especially in the lower organizations.

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OUR PRESENT-DAY TASKS CALL FOR THE VIGOROUS DEVELOPMENT OF CADRES

We often speak of the shortage of forces for this or that. But are we really lacking in members of our Party who are willing to take up the tasks of the Party? No, we have many such comrades. In fact, our Party consists of really self-sacrificing elements. Witness the splendid response to the *Daily Worker* campaign. In every struggle and strike, our Party, in the main, responds with great enthusiasm. The problem consists of knowing our forces, promoting them properly, using people to advantage where they belong and can be used, giving them assistance, helping and training them—and also a very important task especially in the sharpened situation which exists today—knowing how to preserve our cadres. Despite many decisions we have not been able to tackle this question systematically. This unfortunately is true also of the Center, as well of many of the Districts and Sections. One reason for this failure to make a decisive change in our cadres policy is unquestionably our impersonal approach to leading cadres. We too often forget our leading forces are human beings and not merely mechanical objects to be moved around like on a checker-board. Here it is necessary to recall the words of Comrade Stalin that we must cultivate our cadres as "a gardener cultivates his favorite fruit tree, to appreciate people, to appreciate cadres, to appreciate every worker who can be of use to our common cause".

The serious taking up of the carrying through of the present-day tasks requires that we at once take up the solution of our cadres problem. We must see that the proper forces are at the proper posts, that our people grow in their work and in struggles, that they develop themselves theoretically to be able to meet and solve the complex problems before them. We must make this a personal responsibility of particular people to take up the guidance and development of other comrades. In taking up this task, we shall be guided by the advice of Comrade Dimitroff who spoke at length on this question in his speech in reply to the discussion of his report to the Communist International Congress. Comrade Dimitroff said:

> "What should be our *main criteria* in selecting cadres?
>
> "First, *absolute devotion* to the cause of the working class. *Loyalty to the Party*, tested in the face of the enemy—in battle, in prison, in court.
>
> "Second, the closest possible *contact with the masses*. The comrades concerned must be wholly absorbed in the interests of the masses, feel the life pulse of the masses, know their sentiments and requirements. The prestige of the leaders of our Party organization should be based, first of all on the fact that the masses regard them as their leaders,

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and are convinced through their own experience of their ability as leaders, and of their determination and self-sacrifice in the struggle.

"Third, *the ability independently to find one's bearings* and not to be afraid of *assuming responsibility in making decisions.* He who fears to take responsibility is not a leader. He who is unable to display initiative, who says: 'I will do only what I am told' is not a Bolshevik. Only he is a real Bolshevik leader who does not lose his head at moments of defeat, who does not get a swelled head at moments of success, who displays indomitable firmness in carrying out decisions. Cadres develop and grow best when they are placed in the position of having to solve concrete problems of the struggle independently, and are aware that they are fully responsible for their decisions.

"Fourth, *discipline* and *Bolshevik hardening* in the struggle against the class enemy as well as in their irreconcilable opposition to deviations from the Bolshevik line.

"Our leading cadres should combine the knowledge of *what* they must do—with *Bolshevik stamina, revolutionary strength of character and the will power to carry it through.*"

THE NEED FOR RAPID, SYSTEMATIC RECRUITING

Our Party in the United States consists of some 30,000 members. This is indeed a very important force, but a very small number indeed for a country like the United States. This number in no way corresponds to the needs of the present situation, even to the growing influence of our Party among the masses. There will be a special report on this question and proposals for more rapid, systematic recruitment. I merely wish to raise this point briefly to emphasize the need for mass recruitment. If in the past we have put the question: how do we succeed in keeping so many militant workers out of the Party, I think we can put this question again with greater force today. None of us here will deny that in the factories, in the trade unions, among the masses generally, we see daily fresh militant workers coming to the front in battle against the class enemy. Why don't we win all of these forces to our Party? We have them in the struggles of the Negro masses, in the struggles of the farmers, in strike struggles. We do not yet get all of these, nor most of these, nor even a considerable section of these workers into our ranks, because we have not yet overcome our old sectarian policy, habits, and methods of work.

With the tactical reorientation, our efforts will meet with greater success; but there is the question of organization. It is not enough to have improvement in the agitation, in the general activity. We must organize our efforts to guarantee consistent, systematic, sustained contact with these workers, to help them in their work, discuss with them, listen to their grievances against us. And sometimes they have very justified grievances against us, which they talk about widely among broad sections of workers. And thus by listening to

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them, by helping them, bring them closer and closer to us, and finally into the Party.

Recruiting into the Party is not a simple act of conversion that takes place in an instant; it is a long process that we must develop systematically, step by step. Some time ago the Central Committee addressed a letter to every Party member on this question, on the methods of recruiting. If we judge by results, the comrades didn't read that letter very carefully, or they forgot about it soon. It has not been carried into effect. Unless we learn how to bring into the Party these fresh forces that are thrown up in the class struggle, we will not be able to become the mass Party of the American proletariat.

Then there is the question of membership turnover, fluctuation. At the May meeting of the Central Committee we placed this question in the center of discussion. But we have not solved it. *In fact, there was little progress from the decisions of the May* Plenum. The good resolutions we adopted have been forgotten. We must admit that we do not know sufficiently the reasons for this huge turnover. We must study this problem more thoroughly than before. We must give up the old, inflexible, hard-boiled attitude on organizational forms, which may have something to do with the turnover and our inability to keep the new recruits who come in full of enthusiasm and then drop out of the Party. In most cases the fault is ours. But certain things we do know, although we do not study them enough. We know that our members are not being sufficiently educated. We know that some are being unduly burdened with routine tasks. We know that the financial burden is too great for a section of our membership. We know that there is not a proper assignment and distribution of work. We know that there is insufficient political discussion of the vital issues of the day.

If we have the will, we can solve these problems. They are all, of course, very closely linked with the question of cadres, the assignment of cadres. At the Plenum we are going to propose measures to remedy the situation. Some of these remedies may not be the last word. We will see how they will work out. We must begin to learn from the members; let's listen to what they think about this question, what suggestions they make. If we make this approach, try to adjust our Party life, our Party work, our Party structure to the express need of the Party membership and of the masses around our Party, then we will, I am sure, find the solution to these problems.

ALL EFFORTS TO BUILD THE CIRCULATION OF THE "DAILY WORKER"

What is true about Party recruitment is even more true about

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our press circulation, above all of the *Daily Worker*. We have made only very little progress in building the circulation of the *Daily Worker*. Comrade Mills will make a special report to our Plenum on the recruiting and circulation drives. What I want to do is merely call your attention to the impossible condition that now exists. I want to ask you comrades if you are satisfied with this condition? I want to ask: if all of us here would really tackle the problem of building the circulation of the *Daily Worker*, don't you think we could double the circulation in a few months? Our resolution on the press calls for more effort to build local papers, which, experience shows, can be built successfully. We are also going to concentrate on a new *Sunday Worker*, to establish a national circulation many times that of the *Daily Worker*. But surely, besides all these things, there is room to build the *Daily Worker* itself into a real mass organ, in the metropolitan area, also in the country and nationally.

In order to increase the circulation, we must, of course, in addition to the organization of the sales of the paper, the development of a broader body of the *Daily Worker* builders, more promotion work, etc., also carry through a radical step in the popularization of the contents of the *Daily Worker*. This will be, perhaps, even more necessary with the language press. It is, of course, possible, really it is possible, to have a real Communist paper which is at the same time a popular paper. There is nothing incompatible in these two things. We must not only write more simply, more convincingly, but we must also take up everything that is of interest to the masses and answer their questions. There is no need to expand on this question. We have time and again raised it. We have adopted resolutions, we made plans, we know what needs to be done. The question is to arrive at a real determination to do it and to carry it out. We must also establish responsibility, we must seek for an accounting from every comrade charged with responsibility. But only if the entire Party, and above all, the leading cadres, will constantly give help and guidance to those charged with the special responsibility, will we get the results we are after.

CONCLUSION

Comrades, this report, as you see, has merely been the enlargement or the digging deep at the roots of our problems, to find the application of the line of the Seventh World Congress to our specific situation, our specific tasks in the United States. We have in this report concentrated on just a few leading questions and tried to go as deep as possible into them in terms of the daily life of our movement, to answer the questions that come up every day among the

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masses, among whom we must work. The purpose of this report is to make it easier for all of us unitedly to carry through the historic decisions of the Seventh World Congress, the decisions which are already shaping the lives of the millions of masses throughout the world, which are bringing into existence much more rapidly than ever before, a great movement for unity and struggle against capitalism and against reaction. This great movement we know, if we seize upon the key question of everyday life, will lead us surely, step by step, to the victory of our cause, to the victory of socialism all over the world.

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The Negro Liberation Movement and the Farmer-Labor Party

(Speech delivered at the November Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A.)

By JAMES W. FORD

I WANT to deal with only one point: the Farmer-Labor Party and the Negro people. Comrade Browder has described at length the program of a Farmer-Labor Party, and I believe that we should use his approach to the question, in our practical work, from the viewpoint of what the masses who participate in politics want. I believe, comrades, we shall find that almost every individual who participates in politics does so because he wants to better his conditions. Everybody who votes does so to improve the conditions of his family and himself. He also wants to preserve and secure the traditional democratic rights achieved by the people of this country to vote in a popular government, to register in a popular way their reactions to conditions which surround them. I believe we should think along these lines when we talk about a Farmer-Labor Party. Many workers, however, do not register to vote because they think, "Well, what is the use?" We should try to overcome this tendency. We have in our population various strata, and each section moves and acts to solve the immediate problems that face it. People support the party which they think will bring good to them from the viewpoint of their self-interest.

We must present, in my opinion, the Farmer-Labor Party, or a labor ticket, or a people's ticket as possible victorious tickets. There is no doubt that the toiling masses have most things in common. All that is left for us to do is to reach the various strata, meeting them on their own ground, level and degree of understanding of the issues involved.

WHAT THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY MEANS TO THE NEGRO MASSES

There is among the Negroes the greatest desire for unity of action that I have ever noticed. Therefore when we approach the Farmer-Labor Party we must ask: What have the Negro people to gain from the Farmer-Labor Party?

In order to answer this question, it is necessary to find out what are the issues and needs that face the Negro people, and how they

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have fared in the old line parties, the Republican and Democratic.

First, let us take the Democratic Party, the party of Roosevelt. Negroes are dissatisfied to the point of desperation, and have a determination to change from Roosevelt, because the "New Deal" has well nigh brought them to the point of being beggars. The tenant farmers and sharecroppers were the chief sufferers from the "New Deal" in the cotton belt, where nearly $300,000,000 were poured out to the greedy landlords, and out of which the tenants and croppers got practically nothing. The plow-under and acreage reduction program of the A.A.A. sent hundreds and thousands of poor Negro farmers and their families "down the road" to starvation and homelessness. The "New Deal" has yet to provide any social insurance security for Negroes on the farms. As a matter of fact, Roosevelt's Social Security Act excludes agricultural labor from benefits, and thus bars nearly half of the Negro population.

In January of this year, even though 4,000,000 Negroes were on relief (nearly one-third of the Negro population) in every section of the country there is the rankest discrimination in the administration of relief. One has only to remember the shocking conditions disclosed following the March 19 outbreak in Harlem, which is the heart of a city that at least boasts of being the most liberal community in the country.

The Negro wage worker is maintained in a jim-crow status by differential wage standards which were legalized by the "New Deal" codes. On all projects the Negro worker is almost completely barred from skilled work. It is only by the bitterest struggle that a few Negroes have been given skilled work. The Negro middle class has fared no better under the "New Deal". They are pushed from pillar to post; many of them are starving or are on the point of starvation. This class of Negro population is also a victim of discrimination, segregation in hospital employment, in relief administration jobs, various institutions bar Negroes among the middle class. The professionals suffer hardest because their clientele is hard hit by the "New Deal" and they are unable to make payments or to engage services. Like all small business men, the Negro small business man is being wiped out, with the difference that he is being wiped out twice as fast as the small white business man, because of the jim-crow system.

Social and civil rights of Negroes have been almost completely wiped out since the "New Deal". How is it possible that Angelo Herndon is being railroaded to the chain-gang for 20 years? It is simply because Roosevelt's program is further restricting the civil rights of the Negroes (as well as the entire working class), already sharply curtailed by the slave traditions of the South. Roosevelt's

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program is enforcing the special discrimination and oppression of the Negro people.

The new indictment of the Scottsboro boys was made possible by the "New Deal" Supreme Court's refusal to rule on fundamental violations of the constitutional rights of Negroes. These two outlandish attacks on the Negro people only emphasize how sharply the Democratic Party is cracking down upon the most elementary civil rights and liberties of the Negro people. Witness the horrible lynching of a Negro yesterday, and the rising of what appears to be another wave of lynchings. Has the federal government ever done anything about the lynch rule against the Negro people? Has Mr. Roosevelt ever raised one finger to sign a federal anti-lynch bill? Of course not! *No wonder there is growing discontent and dissatisfaction among Negroes against the "New Deal" and the Democratic Party!*

The most elementary constitutional right, the right to vote, is systematically denied Negroes, either by violence or through fraud.

Despite supposed equality guaranteed the Negroes under the Constitution, some four million of voting age are disfranchised. According to the 1930 census, the total Negro voting population was 6,531,939—or 9 per cent of the entire voting population of the United States. But, because of disfranchisement, it amount to only 3 per cent of the voting population.

Negroes began to break away from the Republican Party, the traditional party of the Negroes, and swing to the Democratic Party around 1928. Would it be wise for the Negroes to swing back to the Republican Party now? No! It would be like jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

Comrade Browder described in detail the reactionary policies of the Republican Party. The Republican Party has become the most reactionary party in American politics. The most reactionary people either head or influence it. Among these are William Randolph Hearst, the fascist; Morgan, the financier; the Du Ponts, munition makers and warmongers. They are the leaders of the Liberty League, the most reactionary group in America today.

It is true, as Comrade Browder has said, that the Republican Party and the ultra-reactionaries as a whole oppose Roosevelt and the "New Deal". But they do this to provide a trap to catch those people who are dissatisfied with the "New Deal", including the Negro people. William Randolph Hearst is one of the worst haters of the Negro people in this country. He is a supported of Hitler, who says:

> "In each Negro, even in one of the kindest disposition, is the latent brute and the primitive man who can be tamed neither by

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> centuries of slavery, nor by an external varnish of civilization. All assimilation, all education, is bound to fail on account of the racial inborn features of the blood. One can therefore understand why in the southern states (of America) sheer necessity compels the white race to act in an abhorrent, and perhaps even cruel manner against Negroes. And, of course, most of the Negroes that are lynched do not merit any regret."

This quotation expresses the threat of fascism to the Negro should it come to the United States, and which Hearst is doing his level best to bring here. If this is true of the Republican Party, what are the Negro people to do?

THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY AND ITS PROGRAM

I think, comrades, that this analysis of the Republican and Democratic Parties brings us to consider another party—the Farmer-Labor Party. What can the Negro people gain from the Farmer-Labor Party? What is the Farmer-Labor Party? In the first place, the Farmer-Labor Party has as its fundamental purpose the development of an anti-fascist movement in which the Negro people are considerably concerned, around which hundreds of thousands can be mobilized—not only Negro people, but other masses. It will have in its ranks Communists, Socialists, Democrats and Republicans.

What is the program for a Farmer-Labor Party? Comrade Browder stated in his speech yesterday ten basic points in the program of a Farmer-Labor Party. They are the following:

1. Higher wages; the six-hour day and thirty-hour week, without reduction in weekly earnings.

2. The full right of organization and collective bargaining through unions of the workers' choice; the outlawing of company unions.

3. The fight for adequate relief and genuine unemployment and social insurance, at the expense of the capitalist class and government; union wages on all public work; opening of closed factories by the government to employ labor at union wages.

4. The fight against the sales tax, against high utility rates, against high prices; for taxation of the rich, lightening the heavy burden of taxes upon the workers, farmers, middle classes and professionals.

5. Immediate full payment of the bonus to veterans through taxation of big wealth and high incomes.

6. Relief to the starving and impoverished farmers, against evictions and foreclosures, governmental loans without interest to the needy poor farmers, land for the sharecroppers and small tenant farmers.

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7. Full support for the program of demands of the American Youth Congress.

8. Full civil rights for the Negroes where they are being denied, especially in the South; against discrimination in every form; death penalty for lynchers; full support to the National Negro Congress.

9. For unrestricted civil and workers' rights.

10. Fight for peace, against imperialist war; against armament and militarism; against the fascist war provocateurs everywhere; alliance with all forces fighting for peace.

We see that these ten fundamental points are of an anti-capitalist character, that every one of them affects the vital needs and lives of the Negro people. We see further that in the very center of this Farmer-Labor Party program is the point that deals with equal rights for the Negroes, which are being denied them especially in the South; against discrimination in every form, and the death penalty for lynchers. The Negro people can see that these ten vital points that affect the lives of millions of people in this country give the possibility of a million-fold alliance with people who want to fight against capitalism, against unemployment, against both the Republican and the Democratic Parties, and develop a program for civil rights for Negroes. The Negro people can see that they can build up a fighting alliance that has the possibility of forcing demands.

The argument used by many Negro misleaders, the argument of the "lesser evil", of turning from the Republican to the Democratic Party, or vice versa, can be answered by every Communist, whether Negro or white, to the satisfaction of the Negro people.

I would like to turn my attention to certain Negro communities; for example, the South Side of Chicago, Harlem, Detroit, and many other communities where Negroes are congregated. What possibilities are there in these communities for independent political action? How can the Negro people lift themselves out of the morass of discrimination? How can the people of Harlem develop some sort of labor action, some sort of people's movement that will be able to fit into the Farmer-Labor program? What are some of the problems that face the people of Harlem? Discrimination in relief, police terror, unemployment relief and insurance, a progam of recreation for Negro children, hospitalization, the right of Negro doctors and nurses to work at their profession, a housing program—the tearing down and uprooting of firetraps that exist in Harlem—the question of Negro leadership in politics, especially in the Republican and Democratic Parties, a community-wide struggle that developed during and following the March 19 outbreak. In Harlem there has developed a sharp struggle among the top and secondary leaders against white domination in the Republican and Democratic

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Parties. This revolt has given the possibilities of developing a broad unity movement.

The Ethiopian issue, around which a large movement has developed, has touched the heart of the Negro people. The above six or seven points affecting the Negroes are the basis of a people's ticket in Harlem. Suppose we could establish unity of the people in Harlem on these issues—the unity of dissatisfied Republicans and Democrats, of Socialists and Communists, of Negro nationalists who also have special demands and interests around which they will struggle, of the Negro middle class, etc. Such a unity of forces gives us the possibilities in Harlem of building up a People's (Labor) Party ticket.

I want to speak of the experiences in Harlem insofar as this development in concerned. Comrade Weinstone has spoken of the excellent results in Detroit. Comrade Weinstone gave an example of how many elements in Detroit are ralling for unity. Yet the Negro Communists are not the leaders of the Negro masses, he says. I think the District of Detroit should give attention to making the Negro Communists become the leaders among the Negro masses along with the Negro reformist and petty-bourgeois leaders, so that the Party will have a base in such a united front movement.

In Harlem, we have had some experiences that may be helpful. Every movement in Harlem has Communists in it or has Communist Negroes as leaders. For example, in the strike of the staff of the *Amsterdam News*, around which a broad united front has been developed, Negro Communists are doing their best to consolidate the united front. For the first time you see Negroes organized in a trade union, striking against Negro business. Nevertheless, this strike has received the sympathy of the people of the community, and it is around this that a broad united front movement has developed, including Socialists. Comrade Ben Davis has taken a leading part in this movement and he is becoming a helpful leader among the people of Harlem.

The Joint Committee Against Discriminatory Practices that includes 40 or 50 organizations today is a factor in city politics. The relief administration does not act without consulting this body.

UNITED FRONT—AN EFFECTIVE WEAPON AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

The Negro Communists are participating in this united front and are rendering invaluable service in making it an effective weapon against discrimination. Negro doctors are building a broad movement among Negro professionals and have collected nearly $1,000 to buy supplies for Ethiopia. This committee has sent nearly two tons of materials including medical supplies for aid to the Ethiopian soldiers.

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I will not say much about the splendid united front activities of the Young Communist League in which James Ashford is playing a very leading part. The Young Communist League has become a factor in the life of the youth of Harlem. I could speak of a number of Negro Communists who are participating actively in united front movements in the trade union field, in other fields.

On the Ethiopian united front, Negro Communists are self-sacrificing and are convincing the Negro people, by their activity, that Communists are really friends of Negro liberation. The question has been one of approach. How do we approach these people—the Garveyites, many of the nationalistic elements? We approach them in a friendly manner, and as our comrades are beginning to say, "We Communists stand as defenders of our people, defenders of the Ethiopian people". I want to give an illustration. In a broad united front meeting at the Abyssinian Baptist Church in which the Communist Party participated, the leader of the Harlem Section of the Communist Party declared:

> "Now is the time for all men and women of African descent and all anti-imperialist forces and all friends and sympathizers of Ethiopian independence to stand together in her defense."

This is well and good. Nobody can deny the character of this approach. Some comrades, however, thought Ford was becoming nationalistic. But the Negro participants said: "Look, the Communists are coming to us. Soon we will have them in our organization fighting for Negro liberation." We welcome this friendly attitude and the possibility of working together to consolidate the united front. We also appreciate the friendly attitude that is taking place among the Negro so-called "nationalists". We must here at this Plenum say to our Negro Communists: "We have to stop using the word 'nationalist' too freely and in a derogatory manner." I want to quote from the *Black Man*, the official organ of the Garvey movement. I want to read this to show the change which is taking place among certain Negro people. Garvey has a poem addressed to Mussolini, entitled "The Fascist Brute". It reads in part:

> "The gath'ring storm of hell let loose
> Is Mussolini's way of death:
> But sober men will ask God's truce
> Before they lose their fearful breath.
> A war today will but inflame
> A world of thinking, waiting men:
> With white and black it's just the same,
> They, all, shall break from out the pen,
> And Communism here and there,
> In Europe's land, America, too,
> Shall join the blood march everywhere,
> And make the world a hell for you."

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I say, comrades, that we Communists appreciate such a statement made by Garvey in London. It is helping us in the United States. We have many other examples of these possibilities. I do not want to quote too much. You know something of our fine relationship with the Father Divine movement. Here is a quotation from *The Spoken Word*, the official organ of Father Divine from one of his followers.

> "*Peace Brother:*
>
> "The writer was a Republican from the time women were permitted to vote until this election, now she is a Communist. The Communists were misrepresented in all the local papers and therefore they have not gained a greater number of members for their Party. Only since I read *The Spoken Word* have I found out the truth about the platform of the Communists. When they had the peace demonstration a short time ago they were showing that they do wish peace as they wished peace before the 1914 World War. Thanks to the truth paper —*The Spoken Word*—for constructive and positive instructions.
>
> "The writer met some individuals of the Communist Party and found them better 'at heart' than those that believe in churches."

I want to give another quotation from Father Divine's paper, *The Spoken Word:*

> "Supported by the Communist Party, Jasper McLevy, Socialist mayor of Bridgeport, was re-elected for a second term today by the greatest plurality ever accorded to a local mayoralty candidate. . . .
>
> "Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party of America, consistent with the Party plan to effect a united front wherever possible, went to Bridgeport and exhorted Communists and Socialists alike to support the Socialist candidates. No facts are available, but it is believed many followers of *Father Divine* also supported McLevy."

The paper continues with an analysis of the attitude that Father Divine's people have towards independent political action and in a number of issues have had articles on the Farmer-Labor Party, many of which contain suitable material on this movement.

BEST PARTY FORCES SHOULD BE CONCENTRATED IN NEGRO COMMUNITIES

These experiences raise certain questions on our approach in the united front in the field of Negro work. What has taken place in New York and in Chicago shows that our policy of concentrating in the Negro communities our most useful comrades is bearing results. I believe we should endorse here the policy of concentrating our best forces in Negro communities.

Second, the other Districts of our Party must give more attention to helping our Negro comrades become active in these communities. This means not only sending our Negro Communists there but also making it possible for their getting into Negro organ-

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izations. After all, what are we training Negro Communists for? To be useful to the Negro masses.

Third, the question of recruitment and building the Party. How encouraging it is to note that a Negro leader of a mass organization has inquired of us that he wants to find a way of affiliating his organization with the Communist Party.

[Interjection by Browder: And we will find a way.]

Yes, we will find a way. But not only that—this Negro leader said: "I wanted to join the Party for a long time but have been unable to do so." But I think the comrades will now find a way to bring these masses closer to the Communist Party. Comrade Amter spoke of our shortcomings in Harlem and I think what he said is correct. The basic question of the elections, however, was not only the question of organizing the campaign. Harlem has relations with the whole District. We have splendid possibilities in Lower Harlem. In Lower Harlem there is a movement of the Spanish-speaking people around Porto Rican issues. We were the second Party in the election there. This shows the possibilities—with the correct united front approach, particularly on the Porto Rican question—when we overcome our shortcomings.

I could say something about other communities, but I do not have the time. I have spoken of the possibilities of a people's ticket from the viewpoint of the Negro communities, developing it on the basis of the needs of the Negro people. Now I want to speak of a key question, of how to consolidate this people's movement in the Negro communities with the Farmer-Labor Party. How is this to be done? Comrade Browder has spoken about trade unions and Negroes. The key is in the trade union field, and particularly for white comrades, to develop the struggle for the rights of the Negroes, for equal rights, for jobs for Negroes, and to bring them into the trade unions. This is the task of the white Communists in order to bring the Labor Party movement closer to these Negro communities. What possibilities do we have for doing this? I believe that the struggle around the speech of Randolph at the American Federation of Labor Convention and the support our comrades can give to this resolution for the rights of the Negro people at the Fifty-fourth Convention should be a wedge to develop the broadest movement for the rights of the Negro people in the trade unions and make the trade unions in reality the base for the Farmer-Labor Party.

Another example of how a labor ticket has possibilities for the Negroes is the splendid Maurice Sugar campaign in Detroit. Here is a white Labor Party candidate, the only candidate that came forward and got the support of the Negroes and showed the pos-

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sibilities of a Labor Party candidate, fighting for the rights of the Negroes. Sugar is known to the Negroes. Sugar has fought on six or seven fundamental issues that faced the Negroes in Detroit: discrimination in Detroit; the defense of Jessie Crawford, James Victory, Brown, Lee and Wm. J. Turner; the reply that Sugar gave to the Negro Civic Rights Committee. He spoke to the Negroes and convinced the Negroes what he would do in the city administration if elected. They were convinced on the basis of his record, and I think this campaign is perhaps the second point around which we can convince the Negro people of the possibilities in aligning themselves with the broader sections of the population for a Farmer-Labor Party, and of the possibilities of getting concrete gains for them. The fact that Sugar lost by only a fraction shows the power and influence of a labor candidate, and if he had won, he would have placed Negroes in the City Hall, made improvements in the Negro district, would have outlined a program for overcoming segregation in Detroit, etc.

The next point is the question of the South. Here I want to say that the comrade organizer from the South who spoke here yesterday is absolutely correct, that is, on the question of the demands of a Labor Party ticket in the South and the possibilities of bringing white workers to support the elementary demands of the Negroes in a Farmer-Labor Party based upon the following demands: the right to vote, against discrimination, against lynching, for equal wages. This is absolutely correct as a minimum program to draw Negro and white workers closer together in the South. Furthermore, however, there is one other thing to be done in the South and that is the organization of a "Right to Vote League" which already has had some development in Louisiana, a "Right to Vote League" which will have as its basis the abolition of the poll tax, the abolition of the denial of the vote to the Negroes in the South, electing Negroes to office, electing judges, the right to sit on juries, no discrimination, etc. These demands do not deny or negate the question of self-determination; they are the necessary first steps towards self-determination. And, further, the comrade showed the growing realization on the part of sections of whites of the need for unity of the Negro and white farmers. He is correct on another point. The comrade said, "Land for the tenants at easy payment". I believe we should add to this, "No interest on this land, tax-free land, and land that will provide a minimum existence for the Negro people", because, although the ruling class also wants to settle the Negroes they want to settle them on small farms, useless marginal land, in order to take them off relief. But on such farms it will be impossible for the Negroes to maintain themselves and therefore

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we must raise the question not only of land to the tenants at easy payments, but no tax, no interest on this land, and to provide for the Negroes the possibilities of a minimum existence on such land. What are the possibilities for such a united front? The Sharecroppers Union in its struggle for these demands has shown that it has influence over large masses in the South. It has come closer to the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. This shows the possibilities of building the united front in the South.

ON THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

About a National Negro Congress. It promises to be one of the broadest movements ever organized among the Negroes of this country. Already many important organizations and churches have endorsed the call: The National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, the Order of Elks, the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (Randolph of this organization has written an introduction to the pamphlet by the Secretary, John P. Davis), the Workers' Council of the National Urban League (they are going to hold a conference in Chicago at the same time that the Congress is being held), the New Jersey State Federation of Colored Women, the Detroit Civic Rights Committee, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party.

The Congress should be a *broad* Congress for Negro rights.

The *Chicago Defender*, the *Afro-American*, the *Negro Liberator*, the *Black Worker*, the *Cleveland Call* and *Post*, the *Detroit Tribune*, the *St. Louis American*, and the *Christian Recorder* are among some of the Negro newspapers that have endorsed the Congress. More than 200 Negro and white leaders of the country have done likewise.

As I said, comrades, this promises to be the broadest movement for Negro rights perhaps ever organized in this country. What attitude do we take on this Congress? Some of us are not clear yet. We are not giving sufficient support, particularly our District Organizers. The Communist Party endorses the National Negro Congress. We support any sincere movement that will unify the Negro people for their daily needs and demands.

It is under these conditions that we are supporting the building up of this National Negro Congress. It is based upon a minimum program which we agree with. It is not a complete program of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, nor for self-determination in the Black Belt, but just a program for the rights of the Negro people. The following are the points which the Congress plans to accomplish as outlined by John P. Davis in the call and pamphlet:

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1. The organization of the protest of Negro organizations against civic, social and economic injustice heaped on the Negro and a heightening of that protest.

2. United front of Negro and white organizations around a basic minimum program of Negro rights.

3. Molding on a nation-wide scale, as never before accomplished, public opinion, both Negro and white, against these injustices.

4. A reaction as a result of the first three items listed above among federal, state and local governments which will result in the improvement of the conditions of Negro people in this country, and finally,

5. A reaction as a result of the first three items listed above in the trade union field which will result in fairer treatment of Negro workers by trade unions.

These are some of the minimum demands of the program around which we can develop and build up a broad united front movement. Let us help build the National Negro Congress. It doesn't intend to destroy nor replace other Negro organizations. This is stated very clearly in the pamphlet by John P. Davis. Every Party member, every Negro comrade, must now begin to throw every bit of energy he can into building local sponsoring committees in communities, helping to raise funds. I believe, as I said in the beginning, that we can see a broad movement of Negro people in this country. We see a wide desire for a united front movement in this country.

We have a number of new people in our Party today, new Negro comrades. We are beginning in Harlem to train cadres. We have training schools. This is very necessary in order that we can make this speedy turn in our mass work. These new Negro comrades need the closest attention of old Negro members in our Party. These comrades must help these new members, must develop them. We must not have among these comrades any developments that will cause these new Negro members to have disgust for our Party. We want to develop among our Negro comrades the greatest loyalty for the Party; we want to be firm against deviations; we will be firm for the line of the Party.

I believe, comrades, that if we go from this Plenum back home among the Negro masses we will develop such a broad movement among the Negro people as has never been seen in this country.

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Experiences in United Independent Political Action—the Road to the Farmer-Labor Party

(Speech delivered at the November Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A.)

By WILLIAM W. WEINSTONE

COMRADES, the report of Comrade Browder on the Seventh World Congress was not only comprehensive, clear and correct; it was a model of how to bring the decisions of the Congress to the masses. Comrade Browder translated them into terms of our concrete experiences and armed the Party with simple, clear, and powerful arguments with which to convince the working masses of the correctness of the profound and historic resolutions of that Congress.

Comrade Browder says that the Party is turning from one of agitation and propaganda into a party influencing and modeling events within the country. I think that is correct. Hence the importance which Comrade Browder attached to the question of cadres. This question has been repeatedly discussed at our plenums. But it assumes a new importance at the present time because it will be impossible for the Party to become an outstanding political force in the country if our leading cadres do not understand or are unable to apply our line in practical life.

In the past, one tended to regard a capable functionary mainly from the standpoint of his talent as a speaker. Too many of our organizers were agitators, while, on the other hand, the agitators who could really speak to the masses and who should have been in the field regarded it as their mission in life to sit behind an office desk. We have had too much of the "sign-post" type of organizers. I borrow the term from Dickens. In the olden days when the roads were extremely muddy, Dickens wrote "it was good to be a sign-post because it pointed out the road but did not have to go there itself". And many of our organizers agitated, "pointed out the road", directed the masses where they ought to go, but did not try to lead the masses to the goal, did not organize them for achieving the goal. You remember the statement of Comrade Stalin that victory does not come of itself, it must be dragged by the hand, it must be organized. And, as Comrade Browder stated, the work of

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our organizers has been marred too often by a mere "oppositional" attitude. Today more is required. Our functionaries must be practical, revolutionary *organizers*.

But I think there is another phase of the problem of cadres that is not receiving sufficient attention. We must not only have functionaries capable of mass work, we must have *American* functionaries. We have spoken about this many times. But we have done as yet too little actually to promote such forces. And what is the reason? In my opinion there is insufficient consciousness and boldness in promoting new, capable, American elements to the very *top* leadership of the Districts. Allow me to say that if our District has made some small progress in mass work it has been due to the fact that we have *consciously and conscientiously* developed and promoted into the leading circles of our Party fresh American forces. To the extent that the Party does that, at the same time re-educating many of our foreign born cadres (not casting them out), will we make real headway in our mass work. The Party has such forces, plenty of them down below. But we do not *dig* them up and bring them to the surface.

BATTLE FOR NEW AMERICAN FORCES

However, it is not enough to say we need new American forces. The question is how to obtain them. Experience shows that we must conduct a real fight to reach them, to train them. We must literally *battle* for these forces. Take our experiences with our recent District Training School. We had to *battle* in order to obtain about eight of the most valuable of our twenty students. We had to apply the "human touch" about which Comrade Browder spoke so well. The American comrades are modest about pushing themselves forward, they do not think they know theory well enough, which thus disqualifies them for leadership, etc. Hence, direct intimate association with them, yes, friendship and human contact are all the more necessary to draw them forward. One of the candidates for the school would not go because he had the problem of relief and feared that five weeks away from the city would cut him off from relief, another encountered the objection of his wife to his being away for such a long time from his family for the first time in his married life; another one had sickness in his family and felt that he would be deserting his family obligations to go away at that moment; still another feared that he might be called to a job and lose the chance of work if he were away. I could go on with other instances. We had personally to discuss and solve each problem in turn. We had to take the initiative in raising and provoking the problem and offering proposals to meet the personal and economic questions and in

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each case we succeeded. We had collectively in our District Committee to think about the problem of each candidate. In short we had to fight to win and to develop our cadres. *Yes, comrades, there is much gold in the depths of the Party but you have to dig for it and bring it to the surface.*

I have dealt with this question of cadres because I think it is the critical question in order to speed up our progress of winning the masses. I wish, however, to devote my main attention to our experiences in regard to the Labor Party movement in Toledo and Detroit. But before doing so allow me to relate some experiences of our mass work in Detroit.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY ON WAR

First, with regard to our recent discussion with the Socialist Party on the question of the united front in the struggle against war. After an exchange of letters a delegation of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party came together. At the first session the Socialist Party delegation raised two questions. One question was our general stand on war—that is, whether the Franco-Soviet pact signified a digression from the Leninist policy of uncompromising struggle and opposition to capitalist governments. It was indeed a provoking question to place to people who have been fighting against any collaboration with capitalist governments since the very formation of our Party. Nevertheless, we quite calmly answered with the statement of Comrade Thorez that while supporting the Franco-Soviet pact unqualifiedly as a weapon against war, this pact in no way obliged the Communist Party of France or of any capitalist country to support its government. The Communist Party has never had and will never have any confidence in a capitalist government. This disposed of that question. The other question related to our attitude toward sanctions. We stated that we favored sanctions, explaining that we were in favor of peaceful, economic, financial and collective sanctions; explaining that sanctions were a method of bringing the utmost pressure to bear upon warring fascist Italy. But we explained that we had no confidence in capitalist governments and that in the struggle against war we relied upon the independent action of the working class. *We wish to avoid any wrong placing of the question, any counterposing of sanctions versus the action of the masses,* any interpretation of sanctions as a substitute for the mobilization of the working people. On the contrary, we could say "we are wholly in agreement with you that the action of the masses is the main way of fighting against war". More than that, we could say with all honesty, "thank the Lord, that we agree after the experiences of Social-Democratic collaboration with capitalist govern-

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ments and futile reliance on the League of Nations to stop war, that we both turn to a policy of relying upon the great masses of people to stop war".

We were, however, unable to convince them of our stand on sanctions and we turned to a discussion of practical measures upon which we could agree. We accepted the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party as a possible basis of agreement. But here we encountered this unique difficulty. The Socialist Party delegation of Detroit was not only in disagreement with the stand of the Second International, they were not in full agreement with their own N.E.C., although they were all "militants". I mention it as a matter of the obstacles to overcome in obtaining a united front and to show the necessity of comradely discussion of basic questions. We agreed that a memorandum be drawn and that we come together again. Let me relate some experiences of our second session.

Our memorandum which they asked that I draw up opened up with reference to the war of "fascist Italy against Ethiopia as a war of a fascist imperialist country against a semi-colonial nation". One of the delegates asked whether we had objection to striking out reference to "fascist" Italy and leave it only Italy. We stated we had no objection if it was only an editorial change but we would stand by the reference to Italy as a *fascist* imperialist country. One delegate of the Socialist Party put forward the theory that war springs from imperialist countries, and objected to any distinction between democratic and fascist imperialist nations. We pointed out, to the agreement of other Socialist Party delegates, that we must stigmatize the fascist countries as the instigators of war. We made the concession of the first phrase but we left in the essence of our attack upon Italy as a fascist imperialist country.

What was the mistake that this comrade of the Socialist Party was making? He failed to see that it was precisely the fascist countries which were provoking war—Italy, Germany and Japan. He failed to see that a blow struck against Italy was a blow against fascism generally. He failed furthermore to see that by stigmatizing Italy as a fascist country, we could mobilize the great anti-fascist sentiment of the United States against war, and in that way not merely pronounce ourselves against war, but organize to stop, postpone, yes, even try to prevent war.

We put forward a number of demands, such as the stoppage of loans and credit to Italy, boycott of goods, the holding of mass meetings and other forms of mass actions. These were agreed to, but then we were confronted once again with the question of what they call sanctions. They said, "How do you propose to carry through this fight? Do you propose to bring pressure to bear upon the govern-

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ments?" If so, they said, "You are sneaking in sanctions through the back door". We stated that the question of sanctions had already been disposed of and we are now discussing practical questions of action. We asked them, "How do you propose to stop the granting of loans and credits?" The masses have no money—the government has it. You comrades have no money to lend to Italy; Morgan has it. Why can we not call upon the masses that neither the government nor Morgan give money to Italy? We said further, "We are appealing not so much to the government as to the masses, but we cannot exclude the government. How can you avoid the government; you are not Nihilists. We said: "Suppose that a resolution was before Congress that America enter the war. Would we not hold meetings, demonstrations, demanding that the Congressmen vote against the resolution? Of course, we would. In that case it is no different from the struggle for other political and economic demands. Of course, here it is obvious that more mass pressure must be brought to bear." And we gave a third instance, citing the example of the Jolly George incident in England in 1920 and the organization of the Councils of Action which stopped Lloyd George from throwing England into a war against Russia on the side of Poland.

We reached an agreement with the delegation. But here is what happened subsequently. The County Committee of the Socialist Party unanimously rejected the agreement on the ground that they would make no united front with an organization that stood for sanctions. This, in spite of the fact that the sanction question had been eliminated. We further learned that both the "Rights" and the "militants" voted for this resolution. How can we explain this? The "Rights" who are few in number in Michigan, and who are themselves in favor of sanctions *a la* British Labor Party, used the sanction question in order to block the united front. Anything to prevent the united front! And the "militants", because of their confusion and wavering, fell for the trickery of the Right wing. We pointed this out to some of the militants. We have proposed that we carry on a symposium or debate and clarify our position on war and bring the question to the membership of the Socialist Party. Some lessons must be drawn from this experience—the necessity of more popularly placing our position, and of trying to clarify some of the "Leftism" and pacifism which affect the "militants" and Left wingers of the Socialist Party, while carrying on the fight against the Right-wing position.

THE FIGHT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

Now as to the question of civil rights. Michigan has organized a broad conference for the protection of civil rights, which in-

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cludes three Central Trades bodies, the Mechanics' Educational Society of America (M.E.S.A.), many local trade unions, the farmers' union, civic and church societies, professional groups, and the Communist Party. The Socialist Party was in the conference in the first stages, but withdrew without giving any reasons whatsoever. But the work was continued, and when recently the Dunckell-Baldwin Bill was used as a pretext by the police to ban the film *The Youth of Maxim,* an approach was again made to the Socialist Party and they rejoined the conference. Why was this so? Because the conference continued the struggle for civil rights, *translating the fight for civil rights in terms of the local issues and particularly those questions of civil rights touching upon the economic and trade union questions.* In that way the conference established a living contact with the trade unions, affiliated farmers' groups, and brought in more unions. For example, it took up the discharge of two relief workers from their jobs because of their political opinions and because they were organizing the relief clients.

You see, fascism is a very general term. To many workers it means something European. If we are to give real meaning to the term we must translate it into the language of civil rights. You must remember even the fascists in the United States say they are opposed to fascism. We can put them on the spot if we expose their attitude to civil rights in the United States.

But more than that, we must take up civil rights, particularly those questions and those rights which are intimately bound up with the problems of organizing the unorganized, with trade unionism, with the right of organization, police interference with picket lines, arrests for distributing literature in the course of organizational activities, and in that way fuse the question of civil rights with the trade union and economic questions. Thus, we shall impress the trade unionists with the usefulness of a civil rights conference, and they will feel that it is flesh and bone of their most intimate problems. We must be careful not to put abstractly the question of civil rights. Recently the question came up in one of the local unions of giving a monthly contribution to the conference, and this was passed unanimously, notwithstanding the general reluctance of trade unions to pay per capita or make regular contributions to anything outside of their organizations. One worker said: "If we have such a conference, then we will have unity of action when the cops try to break up our picket lines. And that is exactly what we need in order to stop the cops from interfering with our rights."

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

Around the question of the struggle against the high cost of

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living I believe insufficient stress has been laid on this question. I think the *Daily Worker* underestimated this fight. What did our experience show? Detroit had a strike lasting six weeks against the high price of meat—the most militant battle for many years in Detroit, involving at its height, 15,000 people who attended meetings with a broad support of the population involving tens of thousands. The sympathy was universal. The police knew it. One day they denounced the strike as being led by Communists. The next day they stated their investigators reported that the Communists were not in it. The strike particularly swept the Polish section. The Polish women virtually took over Hamtramck and battled like seasoned fighters, establishing a sort of "martial law", standing guard outside the stores and examining every purchaser to find out if he had purchased meat. Three nights steady the workers stormed the police stations and released the arrested workers. The fight drew in the support of the Central Trades and Labor Council, notwithstanding at first the opposition of Martel. What did this fight show? It revealed a deep hatred of the masses against the trusts. As a result of the fight a Women's League Against the High Cost of Living was organized which recently carried through a broad conference against the sales tax in the Polish section and a broad conference involving farming women and the Central Trades around the milk question. In my opinion the high cost of living must be made an important issue of the Party as an anti-capitalist fight, as an anti-trust fight, and made a popular issue in the struggle for the formation of the Labor Party. Attention must be paid to this question because the fascist and semi-fascist attacks against Roosevelt employ the high cost of living as one of their main issues. Therefore, if we do not take it up, many workers will fall victim to their agitation and demagogy.

THE TOLEDO LABOR TICKET

I wish now to go over to the question of the Labor Party, and first of all in Toledo. Toledo is the outstanding example of the organization and success of a Labor Party. Toledo several months ago organized the Lucas County Labor Congress. It was initiated by the M.E.S.A., but taken over by the American Federation of Labor which then excluded the M.E.S.A., the Socialist Party, and Communist Party. The Labor Congress arose quite naturally from the fact that Toledo is the best organized trade union city in the country. There are 45,000 organized trade unionists in unions that have shown themselves to be fighting unions. The Labor Congress grew out of the experience of the Autolite and Chevrolet strikes. The workers said they had 45,000 votes, enough to take

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over the city. They participated in the recent election and nominated two to the Board of Education and seven to the Council. They elected two to the Board of Education and two Councilmen.

What was the attitude of the Party toward the Labor Congress? The leadership of the Party in Toledo took a correct stand, supported the Labor Congress, while it criticized the exclusion of the M.E.S.A. and political organizations. It supported the Labor ticket, while criticizing some of the planks of their platform. But in the ranks of the Party there was deep distrust. Why was this so? First, because there were many old time reform planks, side by side with outright labor demands. Some comrades saw some of the confused petty-bourgeois demands, but did not see the labor demands. Some of the candidates put forward were old-line politicians, not tainted by corruption but undesirable elements. And the comrades asked the question, "How can we support such people?" And thus they walked backwards supporting the Labor ticket. These comrades were mistaken. Of course, it is desirable that the Labor Party from the very outset put forward a clear, militant program, a ringing anti-capitalist platform. Of course, it is desirable that the Labor Party put forward militant candidates. They didn't do this in all cases. What does that show? That shows that the workers carry along with them many of the old prejudices, much of the old baggage. They put forward some old-line politicians because they want success. They carry over some of the old petty-bourgeois confused demands because they are confused. But what did such comrades fail to see? They failed to see that which is new. Independent candidates, labor candidates, a labor platform. They failed to understand that you cannot overnight get an ideal Labor Party—that it is necessary first to start it. In this respect they failed to understand what Marx and Engels said, particularly with respect to American experiences. The great teachers of the movement have taught us to hold principles above everything else, that life itself will teach the workers the kind of platform they need and the kind of standard bearers they must put forward. The thing is to get the masses moving along class lines. We cannot avoid bringing into many of the local movements, particularly if they are mass movements, all kinds of planks. We may remember that Marx in his letter to Engels, writing about the formation of the First International, stated that he was compelled to bring in some of the democratic petty-bourgeois slogans about "equality and fraternity" as a concession to Mezzini and others, but he said we put it in somewhere down below and wrote "sweet in form but strong in deeds". And in fact some of the trade unionists learned a lesson in the midst of the struggle itself when the capitalist press began to blast the Labor ticket. They began to unite their

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forces and to give their ticket a more class-conscious character and to fight back, overcoming some of the inevitable hesitation which springs from the very action which they took.

We have an interesting experience. Our comrades issued a statement, which was published in the *Daily Worker*, supporting the ticket but criticizing some of the planks. However, when the comrades were about to issue this statement as a leaflet, a delegation came from the Socialist Party and the trade unions and asked us not to issue it. They were obviously afraid of public endorsement by the Communist Party. Our comrades agreed not to issue the leaflet. And I wish to endorse their stand. If we had issued it and they had failed in the elections they would have blamed it not upon their weak campaign, their own hesitation to come to grips boldly with the old parties, but upon us. We have other opportunities of expressing our support. We held meetings at which we invited the Labor candidates and they were some of the best meetings held. We spread their material. We held our own meetings. If we had issued the leaflet we would have created hostility of the unions against us at the time when we are very small and weak within the unions. The withholding of the leaflet had a very good effect in the trade unions and the trade unionists saw that we are people who are willing to make big sacrifices in the interests of the Labor ticket. Note that the Labor Congress is not yet a Labor Party and this reflects certain resistance and hesitation of some officials, and that is why we must work within the midst of the unions in order to build the Labor Party. The outstanding task of our comrades in the City of Toledo is to overcome their deep-seated sectarianism which for the City of Toledo means getting into the unions as practical trade unionists. It means, furthermore, that we must have a program of uniting the workers to carry through in the Board of Education and in the Council certain of the demands put forward in the platform of the Labor ticket.

THE LABOR TICKET IN DETROIT

I come now to an extremely interesting experience in connection with the Labor ticket in Detroit. I think, comrades, that we can say that the recent Detroit campaign for Labor condidates had an electrifying effect upon the city. Detroit is an open-shop city, with an entrenched political machine, a company press, a big stool-pigeon apparatus—the city of Henry Ford and General Motors. There are only about 4,000 organized in the auto unions. The labor movement has been attached to the political machines and Martel has been one of the kingpins in the political machinery. Nevertheless, in the course of one year, through the campaign for

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judicial office in the spring and for the Labor ticket in the fall, the issue of independent political action has been brought sharply to the forefront, has been the outstanding issue of the labor movement and has been brought to the masses of workers.

In the recent election, Sugar got 55,500 votes, falling short by a small margin of election for Council. But that does not give the whole picture. In nine wards out of twenty-one he was victorious. In the big twenty-first American ward, which has a large Anglo-Saxon population, he got 7,142 votes, improving his position as against the spring election from thirteenth to eleventh place. *He got one out of every three votes cast as against one out of four in the spring election.* How was this accomplished?

Following the spring elections, when Sugar ran for judge, the issue of the formation of a Labor Party was raised in the unions. The motion for the formation of a Labor Party lost by a vote of 62 to 45, with much juggling and maneuvering by the chair. The motion was defeated by the vote of the craft unions, although they were divided. Had Detroit a strong organization in auto, there is no doubt that there would have been a majority for a Labor Party. Had the progressives worked better in the craft unions there is no doubt that there would have been a majority for a Labor Party. The question had to be decided whether to put forward a Labor ticket, and it was decided that in view of the big discontent in the unions with the old policy and the big vote for Sugar for judge, the basis existed for a Labor ticket. Three candidates were put in the field for the primary elections—Sugar, O'Camb, a Socialist of the Metal Polishers Union, and McKie of the Ford local. A platform was adopted by a conference attended by some twenty-odd locals and other organizations. In the primary elections, McKie ran twentieth, defeating many old-time office-holders; O'Camb twenty-second and Sugar tenth out of a field of 44 contenders. Sugar fell just short of the ninth place. There was immediately concentration upon Sugar with the object of winning a seat in the Council.

What was the support for Sugar? The United Labor Conference for Political Action which sponsored the Labor ticket secured the endorsement of about sixty unions, among them the Building Trades Council with its thirty unions. This was done in face of the opposition of the leadership of the Central Trades and Labor Council. A group of Polish organizations, including such important bodies as the Polish National Alliance, Polish Democratic Clubs, practically all the Negro organizations and many ministers of the leading Negro churches, small business men's organizations, groups of professionals, and other civic bodies threw their support to Sugar. Judge Jeffries, who had endorsed the Labor ticket, con-

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tinued his support of Sugar. *Thus you see there was a broad base of support among workers and the urban middle class.*

What kind of campaign was conducted? I can say that a mass campaign in the true sense of the word was carried through. Take the agitational phase first. Six issues of a special paper, *It's About Time,* were published and 650,000 copies were distributed; a special edition of 30,000 copies of the paper was published in Polish. Seven thousands copies of a special pamphlet, "On Equal Rights for Negroes", were issued. Special leaflets were gotten out on the relief question, on the sales tax, and on other economic questions—in all 1,250,000 pieces of literature were distributed during the campaign. In addition, 6,000 window cards were placed in stores throughout the city and there was practically no difficulty in getting small business men to put them in. Four hundred large signs were posted around the city. The Sign Writers Union of the A. F. of L. made up ten 16-foot signs, which were placed on the main thoroughfares of the city. Stickers were gotten out for the factories. Modern up-to-date methods of advertising were used, such as tire covers, a sound car, the radio, sandwich men (here the unemployed helped), advertisements, and publicity in the neighborhood papers and in the Negro press. And the Professional League for the Election of Sugar sent postcards to teachers, municipal employees and ministers on the question of Sugar's stand on the war and in order to forestall the attacks of reactionaries who would try to bring in the issue of religion in order to break the labor front. On election day 500 workers were organized to distribute material around the booths and an equal number were mobilized as watchers to count the vote.

Sugar spoke to trade unions, to the unemployed, in Negro churches and in some white churches, in the Polish Democratic and Republican clubs, to women's Republican clubs, to all kinds of civic societies, in beer gardens where large masses of people assemble on Saturday nights, before factory gates, etc. Comrade Browder is absolutely correct when he says that we must try to reach the workers belonging to Republican and Democratic clubs in the neighborhoods to rally them for the Labor Party. There are many such, particularly among the language groups.

Sugar's candidacy was connected up with the mass local issues. Sugar spoke at the Sales Tax Conference on the question of the high cost of living. He spoke to a meeting of 700 project workers, not as a candidate, but as a fighter for the organization of the W.P.A. workers into a union, and against the Roosevelt starvation wage. He opposed the proposal to put through a one o'clock closing hour in beer gardens which was intended to regiment the workers.

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Civil rights were taken up in connection with the denial of the public schools to the Women's League and with the current, living question of Negro rights.

How was the campaign carried on in the neighborhoods? The main slogan was *reach out into new territory*. I related already that we had 16-foot signs in strategic places of the city. We even had one up opposite the City Hall. It was torn down after two hours, but still we must say it was up for two hours. Thirty headquarters were established in the city. In the first stage of the campaign, we found that the campaign workers localized their efforts to the immediate neighborhoods of trade unions and radical centers. But they were told: Go to the farthest point away from the headquarters in the sections and then work back. And as a result, for example, in one section, three new headquarters were opened up for the campaign, and for the first time, our comrades began to find the people of the community. Many stores were found that could be rented. The landlord was willing to take a chance since it was a Labor ticket. And thus signs were placed over the Labor headquarters: *Vote for a Fighter for Labor, Maurice Sugar!*

All this began to tell in the campaign. The press admitted that the Labor ticket has a busy and energetic organization, and the counter attack was opened. They were unable to kill the campaign by the conspiracy of silence. As Sugar put it: "We smoked them out." Editorials were carried for several days on the front pages of the papers. Sugar was called a radical candidate with strong Communist leanings. The police began to interfere with signs. Advertisements were denied in the street cars for the Sugar-Sinclair debate. They had to resort to forged leaflets gotten out at the last minute and to a raid upon the Party headquarters, in order to discredit Sugar as a Labor candidate. They arrested three of the leading comrades in order to try to stigmatize Sugar. Nevertheless, in spite of all, they were afraid of their own measures because they might advertise the Sugar campaign.

Sugar ran tenth, beating Laura Osborn and Littlefield, outstanding political opponents. What defeated Sugar? This is a pertinent question in view of his big vote and the small number by which he was defeated. Of course, one obvious answer is that it was difficult in so short a time without an organized Labor Party and without trained campaigners to reach every corner of the sprawling motor city. Another difficulty was the united opposition of the reactionary clique in control. But these explanations are very important but not sufficient. I think there were two weaknesses or mistakes from which important general lessons can be drawn.

First, with regard to the Sugar-Sinclair debate. This attracted

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a big crowd. The subject was the Epic versus the Labor Party. What were the central issues of the debate? Sugar is undoubtedly a very able, effective and informed speaker. He made very many telling points against Sinclair, against the Utopian Epic plan, and against Sinclair's alignment with Roosevelt.

He developed the need for a Farmer-Labor Party within the limited time at his disposal, but did not make the fight against fascism the central point of his presentation and thus the debate developed into the democratic way versus the violent way out.

Consider the way Sinclair placed his position. The next few years he said would decide whether or not we shall have a fascist dictatorship in the United States. "My road, the road of Epic, of capturing the Democratic Party, of following the American way is the correct way. Any other way plays into the hands of the fascists." It was necessary to show that only the Farmer-Labor Party, the united front of the workers and middle class against the capitalists, the independent action of the toilers, can beat back fascism. Those who advocate the Farmer-Labor Party are the ones who are fighting fascism and Sinclair is helping, consciously or unconsciously, to keep the workers tied to the parties of capital and thus helps fascism. They are the real fighters to maintain democratic liberties. That is why the Epic followers should align themselves with the Farmer-Labor movement if they want to avoid fascism in the United States. In emphasizing the negative criticism of Sinclair and Epic, this positive viewpoint was not sufficiently made clear.

You remember what Comrade Dimitroff said at the Seventh Congress:

> "Now the toiling masses are faced with the necessity of making a *definite* choice, of making it today, not between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy, but between bourgeois democracy and fascism. We are not anarchists and it is not at all a matter of indifference to us what kind of political regime exists in any given country; whether a bourgeois dictatorship in the form of bourgeois democracy, even with democratic rights and liberties greatly curtailed or a bourgeois dictatorship in its open fascist form. Being upholders of Soviet democracy, we shall defend every inch of the democratic gains which the working class wrested in the course of years of stubborn struggle, and we shall resolutely fight to extend these gains."

This is the line which can rally the widest masses of people. If we approach Sinclair from the standpoint of his inconsistencies, leaping as he does from Wilson to Debs and from Debs to Roosevelt, and do not see what in his position appeals to workers and the middle class, we cannot win over his followers and give an answer to the question disturbing his followers—fascism, the fight against reaction and the winning of immediate benefits.

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Second weakness: Sugar was defeated by Ewald, who had been a councilman for ten years. He was endorsed by the big business men's organization. But he was president of the Bricklayers Union, and was endorsed by the Federation. He was endorsed by the press. What happened? At first, the press endorsed Laura Osborne—a blue blood and a reactionary, but when they saw that Sugar was gaining ground because he was a Labor candidate, they switched their support to Ewald. That meant they wanted to defeat Sugar by a so-called "labor" man. And they carried through a clever policy, with the help of Martel. Not the reactionary Hearst press was used to attack Sugar, but the so-called liberal *Detroit News*. The *Labor News* of Martel which had endorsed eight of the old candidates endorsed Ewald and played him up as the Labor candidate. They distributed the paper before the factories. This was particularly in the last days. Now, comrades, we may think that everybody knows that rogues are rogues and fakers are fakers. But it isn't the case. What should have been the policy to defeat this strategy? It was necessary for the campaign committee to say to Ewald: "O.K. You are running as a Labor candidate. Sugar is the Labor candidate also. He is running on a platform in favor of the 30-hour week, for the right of organization, against the spy system, for adequate relief, etc., etc. Why not unite forces against the whole ring of capitalist politicians, and make one united campaign and elect two labor people and oust two of the old capitalist henchmen? Let us have one Labor campaign—with one aim." If he would have accepted this proposal, it would have cut him off from the old gang —that would have been difficult for him, because he is an old class collaborationist, who boasted the day after the election that he has not had a strike in his union for 30 years. If he had rejected the proposal the Sugar Campaign Committee could have come out and said to the masses: "See what kind of Labor man he is; he is opposed to a fight against the capitalist politicians, opposed to a fight for the right of organization and the 30-hour week, etc.—Vote against him, even though Martel and the Federation have endorsed him." It would have been possible to get out a special issue of the paper which was circulating 100,000-150,000 each week, and carry a banner head: *Ewald Rejects Fight Against Capitalist Politicians—Only Sugar Stands for Labor,* and this would have made it easier to attack Ewald, overcoming certain hesitation to do so, because he was endorsed by the Federation.

I think we all underestimated the possibility of the Federation and even of the press itself to put Ewald across as a so-called Labor man. We tended to say (this was, of course, not discussed) that Ewald is endorsed by big business, that he has been in office and

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has been discredited, that the building trades locals are against him; and hence, he will be unable to pose as a Labor man. But no, the fact that he was president of the Bricklayers Union, and carried the endorsement of the Federation, fooled many workers. I emphasize this because we shall be confronted with similar situations, perhaps not in this form, in the course of the building of a Farmer-Labor Party. We must be careful not to take things for granted. We must make certain that the enemies whom we know to be such are regarded as enemies by *labor* itself. We must not merely look at the face of certain elements and conclude that labor sees them as we do. The united front policy is a big weapon nowadays for making things clear to the masses.

THE STAND OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

What was the position of the Socialist Party? The Socialist Party opposed the Labor ticket. It put forward its own candidate. He was endorsed by the Federation, as a slap at the Labor ticket. Out of 44 contenders, he ran forty-fourth, the last in the list in the primary elections. He secured only 2,400 votes. The Sugar Committee proposed a united front with the Socialist Party. They rejected it, and as a result, the Socialist Party played a very small role in the elections. Within the Socialist Party, there were supporters for Sugar, some members resigned from the Socialist Party and participated in the conference for the Labor ticket, and a sharp debate has developed in the ranks of the Socialist Party with regard to their policy. They could have helped to elect a Labor man and encourage independent political action. Instead they split the front and preferred to stick close to Martel and hunt for big game. But we must say they did not cover themselves with glory. We have pointed out, and we point out to the Socialist Party that if they oppose the united front, they will not make headway.

LESSONS OF THE SUGAR CAMPAIGN

Some lessons from the campaign: First, the Labor ticket secured the endorsement of Judge Jeffries. Who is he? He is an old friend of the underdog, known as such. He has been a judge for 25 years and has to my knowledge never sentenced strikers; he is well known in the trade unions—one who speaks for the organization of the unorganized; opposes the old parties; is against the New Deal; is against Hearst and his clique; is a member of the Farmer-Labor Party in Michigan; and has good contact with farmers' groups. He is not a Socialist nor a Communist, but he is not anti-Communist, and was in favor of the inclusion of the Communists in the July 4 meeting in Chicago. He favors the united front. He is a truly

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honest representative of the middle-class elements who work with and favor unity with labor. But he has his peculiarities. He is in favor of the Townsend Plan. Was it correct to ask for his support and make an alliance with him? Of course, it was. He came out in favor of the Labor Party and spoke at the conference which put the Labor ticket in the field. That was a phase of the people's front. That helped the campaign, just as Lovett's speaking, and Darrow's endorsement of Sugar helped the campaign. Can you take such people without their peculiarities, their prejudices and even some illusions. In building the Farmer-Labor Party and the people's front, we shall have many similar situations, and by far not as good as this.

A second conclusion from the campaign: trade union work is weak. I already stated that if we had worked better in the trade unions, we would have given a broader trade union basis to the campaign. Of course, we must draw in the middle-class elements into the people's front, we cannot put the question—trade unions versus middle-class elements. No, if you have the support of many professional people such as Jeffries, you will get many trade unions. But we leave the movement upon a very unstable base, if we don't carry on a systematic and organized work in the trade unions and this calls particularly for organizing the unorganized and the strengthening of the work of our trade union department.

PARTY ORGANIZATION

A third conclusion: How did the Party machinery work? The Party members were very active but we had to superimpose a new Party machinery on top of the old. Take for example the East Side, which is a section as big as Buffalo. There we have a section with 80 Party members, covering three wards. We told the Party to divide up their forces on the basis of these three wards—17, 19 and 21. In two of these wards we had no Party organization. We told the comrades: find some sympathetic point of contact, such as trade unions, small business men's stores, and even in churches. Find individuals, and around them build your campaign. And as a result, the small forces that we had involved a far larger number of workers, involved organizations of whose existence we had not previously known, and exercised an influence over a bigger radius. We organized special brigades for territories in which we had no contacts at all, sending them in to cover the territory with the paper by a house-to-house canvass. We concentrated upon points of congestion, such as street car junctions, factory gates, street car barns, and in that way were able to reach a larger number of people with our small forces. In some sections, we secured lists of registered voters and visited them in house-to-house canvass, and in that way

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were able to learn the political complexion of certain election districts.

It is clear that if we wish to help consolidate the masses who voted for Sugar and organize them for a Labor Party, we must extend the organization of the membership of the Party. Party building becomes an immediate, practical and burning task. And in that way we will give a strong backbone to the whole movement. But, shall we not utilize the experience of the election campaign and reshape the street units to the forms of organization built up in the campaign; that is, to organize them on the basis of the political units of the city? I am in favor of Brown's proposal, in favor of building the street units on the basis of the political subdivisions. We arrived at that conclusion in our immediate discussions following the election campaign. It will be said that this will take them away from economic struggles. It might be said that this will be taking the line of least resistance. This will give the Party, masses to work upon, registered American citizens, if they accomplish this task—to agitate among them, to talk with them, to reach them with our press, to draw them into mass organizations, if our units would be doing this among the 55,000 people, they would be doing plenty. And, of course, what is to prevent the street units in taking up the economic issues, such as the unemployed, trying to draw the potential forces into the economic movement? I see no difficulty here. I can only see that our comrades will begin to know who the people are among whom they live and also to learn the organization of their community. It would be good to do a little politicalizing of our units.

One final point on Party organization. Our Party organizations worked best when we sent people from the District directly into the Sections and told our District representatives to work with the comrades, help them in the task of mass campaigns and directly and physically do the hard leg work themselves. Our comrades of the District Committee were in the Sections and this lesson applies to all our work. Get down below, then things will hum.

ABOUT LANGUAGE ORGANIZATIONS

A last word about the work of the language organizations. There are 250,000 Poles in Detroit. They are a big and important political unit in the city. They have tried to win positions, but they have had the Irish lined up against them. They are unable to carry any of their candidates in the primaries for council, although some of those candidates held important state offices. As a result of the meat strike, and because the Poles are predominantly workers who had supported Roosevelt strongly and were disillusioned with the New Deal, they gave backing to Sugar. I have already enumerated the

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large number of Polish organizations that supported the campaign. It is true that many of our comrades were active among the Poles and did good work, and here I can especially emphasize the work of Comrade P. who showed a good capacity for mass work, penetrating many organizations and getting support for Sugar. But what did our Polish organizations do, such as some of the clubs of the Polish Chamber of Labor? A comrade narrates the following experience. He walked into a Polish club under our influence in the heat of the campaign and found them painting up and decorating the walls of the club.

While he was there, another comrade came in and said: "Do you know what happened tonight at one of the big Polish organizations? Why, the question of Sugar came up, brought up from the floor, and he was unanimously endorsed." And here you have a pretty picture. Our comrades decorating their pretty headquarters, with their ten people, sitting apart in their little nest, while the masses in the big Polish organization are considering the question of Labor candidates and aligning themselves with such a candidate as Sugar. Our little clubs pass glorious resolutions in support of the Labor Party, while other people, of course with the help of our sympathizers in such cases, work for Labor candidates and for Labor Party action. I do not want to make some mechanical proposal to liquidate all of our mass organizations, but undoubtedly we can liquidate a number of them and transfer our people into the bigger organizations of the various nationalities. In my opinion, if we don't take up this question of reducing the number of unnecessary, sectarian little groups among the languages which eat up the time of our comrades, we will not be able to transfer our members into the trade unions. You must remember that a large part of our membership is foreign born, and while it is a question of overcoming their underestimation of trade union work, it is at the same time a practical problem of liquidating some of their activities in useless organizations in order that they may throw their energies into trade unions and other mass organizations.

NEXT TASKS

What are our next tasks with regard to the Labor Party? (1) It was decided at a recent meeting of campaign workers that the launching of a mass Labor paper is the next big step to link up the 55,000 people. The basis for such papers exists not only in Detroit but also in such cities as Toledo, Chicago, Cleveland, etc.; (2) It was also decided to build up labor political clubs in the neighborhood where the basis for them exists as a foundation, for the coming Labor Party. In such an unorganized city as Detroit, this in our

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opinion is correct and follows the line of Comrade Browder's speech in forming committees for the Labor Party in the neighborhood. (3) We have not yet a Labor Party. It would be good if there were set up a trade union committee for the formation of a Labor Party and rally the unions, trying to secure enough support in the unions for a conference at an early date.

Finally: The proposal has been made to unite the forces in Michigan for a Labor Party with the Farmers Union and Townsend groups for one Farmer-Labor Party in the state.

The Townsend groups are growing. They are flirting with Republicans and Democrats. Their plan to give $200 per month to the aged to be obtained within the frame-work of the present system is utopian. But they have many followers among the middle class who believe that the system is rich enough to give people this sum. We should not reject consideration of ways and means of building a bridge to these masses and to draw them into a united Farmer-Labor Party in the State of Michigan. We must work to prevent these masses all over the country from being dragged behind the chariot of fascism.

Let me emphasize that the big problem of building a Labor Party in the motor state is connected with the big problem of organizing the unorganized, to which we have applied ourselves with insufficient energy.

Comrades, while relating these experiences, I must record the fact that although the Party has increased its fighting capacity and its activity, it still grows very slowly. We will have to take up the problem of gripping hold of the lower units, particularly with regard to recruiting, in regard to educating our forces, particularly in drawing in American trade union elements. Let me say, however, that the main problem, more important than the question of reorganizing size of units or territory in which they work, is the question of unburdening our comrades of the many activities and the whirling pace at which they are going. This is a problem of getting in the American trade union elements. They are afraid of the word discipline—they are afraid it means that if they join the Party, they must divorce their wives and children. I know this because I have talked with many elements that support us, work closely with us, and are afraid to come in on this ground. We are going to try to handle this problem.

In conclusion, I think that the recent experience shows that even where we put the Seventh World Congress decisions into effect even to a small degree, we get real good results. Let us energetically and completely, under the leadership of our Political Bureau, put these historic decisions into the heart of all the activities of our Party.

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Rooting the Party on the Waterfront

(Speech delivered at the November Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A.)

By ROY HUDSON

THE willingness of the American workers to struggle, their tremendous desire for unity and organization, and their growing dissatisfaction with craft forms of organization and conservative policies and leaders are reflected to a marked degree in the marine industry. And here, too, we see reaction mobilizing its forces, resorting to terror and fascist measures to crush the struggles of the workers, to weaken and wipe out the unions. The class relations are becoming more and more strained; we are in a period where each sharp conflict between the employers and the workers is followed very soon by even greater conflicts involving wider masses of workers.

The conclusion of the West Coast strike a year ago did not mark the beginning of an era of peace in the marine industry. On the contrary, it led to more extended organization and new struggles throughout the industry, to prolonged, stubborn resistance upon the part of the West Coast marine workers against the provocation of the ship owners and in defense of their gains. During the past months the West Coast marine workers have been able to maintain their unions only through correct leadership and tremendous demonstrations of strength and unity backed up with a general strike threat.

The present Gulf strike, which aims to smash the last stronghold of company unionism in the industry, shows how widespread is the determination of the marine workers to organize. Another example of this determination is the United Fruit docks in New York. Here is a company which, despite the fact that it is probably the most reactionary open-shop company in the industry, and that has blacklisted union men, the I.L.A. officials for about eight months pointblank refused to organize. The sentiment for organization grew in spite of this to such an extent that the I.L.A. officials have been forced officially to organize the docks.

The experience in this direction shows how the Communist nuclei through shop papers and the initiative of our Party members on the docks use their efforts for organizing the unorganized, as the

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means of increasing their influence. Our Party members among the longshoremen have for almost a year been urging them to join the International Longshoremen's Union. A number of our Party members were blacklisted and victimized because of their activities. Delegation after delegation went to the I.L.A. officials with demands that they organize the docks, but they were repeatedly rebuffed. So much pressure was exerted by the workers, however, that the I.L.A. officials were forced to call a mass meeting to begin to organize the docks.

The second such meeting was called last night, the first one officially called by the I.L.A. The meeting was opened with 250 or 300 longshoremen present from the United Fruit dock, with seven speakers, all official I.L.A. spokesmen. Every one of these seven struck the same note: they said that the Communists were spurring the workers on to organize, because we had a plot to smash the I.L.A. Other deliberate attempts to stir up a Red scare were made. Then one of the spokesmen read a leaflet which had been issued by the dock nucleus, calling the workers to stand behind the I.L.A., warning them against stool pigeons, urging them to join the union, and also pointing out to them that anyone attacking the union or the Party was trying to split their ranks. After the speakers concluded, the workers said, "Well, that is a good leaflet". Then the officials mentioned a leaflet issued by the Rank and File Organizational Committee. The same people, they said (the Communists), must have issued this leaflet, too. One longshoremen got up and said, "No, our committee issued it. We elected the committee, we wrote the leaflet". The officials were forced to retreat. They said to the workers, "Well, even Communists can join the union, as long as you work for the union". Thus, we see how sentiment for an organization aroused by a Communist nucleus grew to such an extent that the I.L.A. officials were forced finally to organize this very important dock.

TRADE UNION UNITY THE MAIN FACTOR IN GROWTH OF I.S.U.

Of the seamen on the East Coast and on the Gulf, tens of thousands have entered the International Seamen's Union. The establishment of trade union unity and the increased activities of the Left wing are undoubtedly also the main factor for the growth of the I.S.U., and the reactionary policies and tactics of the top leadership have been the main obstacles to the still more rapid growth of the seamen's union.

The efforts to achieve unity of action become ever stronger. The Gulf strike, for instance, has already brought thousands of longshoremen into action on the basis of solidarity. Spontaneous

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efforts of the seamen to support a strike on a major scale have been checked only by the I.S.U. top leadership, who are resorting to the most reactionary measures, such as forbidding all union meetings in the Gulf ports and instituting open terror against progressive and militant rank and filers.

"Hot cargo" has become such an issue that Ryan can no longer use his false promises to the workers with the same effect—the Gulf strike daily promises to involve the East and West Coast marine workers.

These experiences prove also that the question of industrial unionism has become a major issue in the labor movement. Every single strikes raises more and more sharply the question of industrial action, of solidarity action upon a national scale. Every strike shows a growing understanding upon the part of the workers that even the existence of craft unions depends upon the united action of all unions.

For years the marine unions have been dominated by ultra-reactionary leaders. But masses of workers opposing these leaders, their influence has been weakened and in places they have been replaced with militant, progressive workers.

While noting the strengthened position of the marine workers, and the increased influence of militant progressive policies, it is just as important to record the determination of the employers to destroy the marine workers' unions, the measures they are using against the workers, and the steps they are taking to launch another offensive. They have tried unsuccessfully to provoke the Western unions into a premature strike. But in spite of the fact that the Western seamen have the united backing of all other crafts, the shipowners arbitrarily refuse to consider any changes in the arbitration award. In the Gulf they have made clear that they intend to wipe out the longshoremen's union. The use of violence proceeds to an unheard of degree, and an organized campaign of incitement in the press prevails against the marine unions, especially on the West Coast. This is combined with the development of a large number of mass "vigilante committees" organized by the Chambers of Commerce. Finally, the government-controlled Shipping Board which for a number of years has been nearly out of business, recently announced wage rulings on a number of their ships which amount to a reduction of wages and are in violation of existing union agreements. The recent announcement that government hiring halls will be opened, especially on the Pacific Coast, is tantamount to a declaration of open war upon the unions by the shipping companies headed by the government.

Also, this announcement takes place at a time when negotiations are still pending in the West and when the East Coast seamen's agreement expires in January. The renewed activity of the Shipping

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Board and the role it is playing also express quite clearly that the increased offensive against the unions is determined by the present war situation. The progress made by our Party in both the marine and steel unions, two basic unions where reactionary policies have long prevailed, shows the tremendous possibilities that exist for correct work in the trade unions. Experience in marine also shows that where organization of the unorganized is made a central task, and struggles are developed, we can most effectively counteract the disruptive tactics of the reactionaries, tactics which prevent the unions from getting a mass base.

But a number of serious shortcomings prevent us from fully utilizing all the possibilities to the fullest advantage. For instance, at a time when the shipowners are seeking to crush the unions out of existence, we hear statements from some of our Party comrades that "the ship owners will renew the agreement because they do not fear the fakers". It is also only in recent months in New York that many of us have learned that there are such things as "progressives" amongst the lower officials of the I.L.A.; that there are also a few Socialists on the dock with whom we can work, and that it is possible for us to develop activity inside of the unions.

LONGSHORE WORK HAS RECEIVED INADEQUATE ATTENTION

And in spite of the great importance of longshore work, it has received inadequate attention from the Center, and especially from myself.

Our work among the seamen, even when it mobilizes the support of thousands, suffers from the fact that we do not draw non-Party seamen into the leadership of the rank-and-file movement. Strong "Leftist" tendencies, which at times lead to trying to replace the unions with rank-and-file committees, must be closely guarded against, especially in the work of the seamen's fractions. The seamen forces have been shifted too often, and often without consulting the Districts. This does not mean that we put the main emphasis on the bringing in of outside forces. On the contrary, we have always tried to stabilize our forces and develop them locally.

While we have developed a number of important local movements, we are just beginning to bring forward a program and demands that will enable us to coordinate our activity in all ports. Among the seamen, we are confronted with the serious and difficult problem of developing proper organizational forms for the rank-and-file movement, and to prevent it from being disorganized and dispersed in a situation where every semblance of democracy is being denied and the most reactionary measures resorted to by the reformist leaders.

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We are on the eve of great and decisive struggles. New tasks face us. At the same time, we must recognize that we have not yet solved a number of old problems and in some places we are lagging dangerously behind the masses of marine workers. We want to sail more quickly, and for this reason we should strengthen our work and overcome our shortcomings.

What is the immediate problem that arises out of the Gulf strike, a struggle that involves to a great extent the future of the unions in the industry? It is the problem of mobilizing the workers to stop the terror in the Gulf, of developing an effective boycott of "hot cargo" on both the East and West Coasts. Our ability to get results in this situation depends upon a correct policy, upon our strength, and the coordination of our forces and activities. A number of important things have been achieved, especially in the Texas District, where, in spite of previous neglect, the District has established important contacts in a number of unions, which, if followed up, will enable us to be a powerful factor in the strike now, as well as in the future work of the unions. It is important to emphasize what took place in Texas, because it represents practically the first time in our experience that lower officials, influential workers inside of the American Federation of Labor marine union, came directly to the Party for advice and assistance.

But no one can be satisfied with what we have accomplished. Our strength on the West Coast could have been utilized much more for influencing the strike, and in giving leadership to the movement for a national boycott. At the same time, a uniform application of our policy, which is of the utmost importance, has been missing.

WORK OF PARTY FRACTIONS NEEDS TO BE STRENGTHENED

Some of the most effective work of our Party has been carried through in a number of Pacific ports, where we have a strong position, and our influence as a result extends throughout the industry. While we have strengthened this influence, we have not utilized it to extend the movement and give it leadership. There is no strong feeling of responsibility for developing the movement on a wider scale, because its importance is not fully appreciated. Consequently, the work of our Party forces and fractions is not properly organized. A recent examination of our work in the strongest ports shows that the fractions were not organized even on a local scale. You can imagine what the situation is on a District and national scale.

When we are participating in mass struggles such as the Gulf strike, when we are faced with the expiration of the seamen's agreement in January, and the coming International Convention of the

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I.S.U., this becomes a serious question. The Central Committee and the District Committees must give the greatest assistance to the organization of functioning fractions in each port, and to the co-ordination of the work of these fractions on a coastal and District scale. Likewise, the proper form for developing and coordinating the rank-and-file movement nationally has not yet been solved. These are decisive questions to solve, if we are to improve our work, consolidate and extend our influence and give leadership to the coming struggles.

I would like to emphasize Comrade Browder's remarks that in applying the decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International we must do it in the light of the concentration tasks set before us in the Open Letter of our Party two years ago. The development of a broad united front and people's movement does not lessen the importance of winning the workers in the basic industries; on the contrary, our ability to develop a broad people's movement in which the proletariat will play a leading role will be determined by the extent to which we win over the basic workers. It sometimes seems that we do not sufficiently appreciate this yet.

Let us take a few examples. In my opinion the convention of District 3 was a landmark in the history of our Party. It showed that the whole composition of the Party was changing, that a really serious beginning had been made in trade union work, that cadres which the District had been striving for were beginning to come forward. The discussion was concrete and rich with experience and showed that the Party was able to examine critically its work and weaknesses. There were many encouraging signs of growth, but the Convention had to record that no serious progress had been made in mining, steel and marine and that the work was extremely weak in these fields.

As for marine, the District Organizer, in his report to the Convention, stated:

> "In marine we do work when a political club is over our head. After we've had a beating, we are active and pay attention. But when the effects wear off, we go to sleep."

Well, it is good to see that we are capable of such ruthless criticism, but I think we are all agreed that it would be much better if we did not have to admit such things. It is my opinion that in Districts 1 and 3 our position among the mining, steel, textile and marine workers is weaker, and we do at least no more, if no less, work than we did two years ago. The most glaring example, however, is in longshore work. New York with all its forces and resources is just beginning to scratch the surface by conducting systematic work.

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It has some forces and can at least say it is in a position to talk about developing a broad mass movement. Progress in New York is important especially from the point of view of showing that we have overcome our isolation of a year ago. But as to progress in the sense of establishing ourselves as a factor with mass strength able to carry through the actions which the situation deserves, we must admit there has been none. We must admit that, after a month, we have been unable to develop any struggle on the question of "hot cargoes".

In Baltimore, Philadelphia and Boston we have not even started to carry on sustained, systematic work after all these years.

Let me cite one more example of a different type, one where we have led mass struggles and have a strong position in the union. A member of the Central Committee, not a marine worker, writes:

> "The District Bureau still does not pay sufficient attention to the marine workers, does not fully understand the problems and is not marine conscious."

What do these things indicate? At our last Convention, I said that to some people the Open Letter was still a closed book. Well, the "book" is still closed to them, and that section of the Open Letter stressing the political importance of strengthening the Party's influence in the basic industries has not yet been digested by some. But some comrades will say that putting the question in this manner does not answer the question. Yes, we appreciate the importance of work in marine, but the methods that have been used and our policies were not satisfactory, they say. True, we must seriously review all our work and activities and invite suggestions, improvement and criticism in this Plenum. But unless at the same time the Party committees assume the political responsibility for the work and concentrate their attention upon these tasks, they will not be solved.

RECENT EXPERIENCES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR

This becomes even more important when we review our recent experiences in the struggle against war. Our Party has carried through some important actions in marine. Even where we have been weakest and faced strong opposition from the bureaucrats, we have secured the adoption of resolutions against handling of war materials. Where we are stronger, we have developed important actions. Our greatest weakness lies in the fact that we have not always proposed actions that were capable of immediately being realized, and also some hesitation about making concrete proposals in the unions for fear of being labeled "Red".

Everyone agrees that, "Stop the shipment of war materials to Italy", is one of the central slogans of the marine workers. If this

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slogan is to be taken seriously, it will mean that we will first of all guide and check up on the work of our comrades in the marine industry to make sure that general literature receives adequate distribution on the waterfront and that special anti-war literature is issued. In developing our general anti-war campaign, we will always stop to consider how to apply them concretely in this field. We will also attempt to develop the general struggle for peace in such a manner as to stimulate and strengthen the work directly on the waterfront. If this is done seriously, systematically, by any of the Districts, then I don't know about it.

There are several cities where a fairly broad people's peace movement has been developed that is of the greatest importance even though we cannot expect at this time to secure the participation of the marine workers in this movement. But at the same time there does not exist the determination seriously and systematically to strengthen our work amongst the marine workers in order to secure their participation in the broader movement.

While I'm on the subject, I'd like to add just a word on the question of people's movements. We shouldn't play around with words. I haven't heard any estimation of the New York people's peace parade, but I watched the parade from one end to the other, and it certainly lacked the broad character necessary for a people's movement.

Comrades, I want to emphasize again that in developing our broad united front movement we must not lose sight of the fact that our main task is still to strengthen our position among the basic workers. We must not lose sight of the task of winning the workers in the decisive industries and making them a factor in the united front.

BUILD THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY ON THE WATERFRONT

Every District, in concretizing the work of this Plenum, should review its work in the concentration industries. With all our weaknesses, we are by the proper organization of our forces strong enough to make a decisive step to penetrate these fields. Outside of the West Coast, we must recognize that practically nothing has been done to bring the Farmer-Labor Party to the waterfront. Leaflets, pamphlets and meetings on this question are most necessary. In developing the labor tickets in seaports we must pay particular attention to the utilization of the experiences of the marine workers in connection with terror, the organization of vigilante committees by the shipowners as well as the question of the enormous marine subsidies and the disfranchisement of many seamen. We should work out

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concrete plans for bringing the campaign more systematically into the union.

Comrade Dimitroff in all of his speeches at the Congress dealt with the question of cadres. Comrade Browder has also given it special emphasis in his report. Certainly, every word that has been said on the subject is justified and needs the most serious study. I wish to deal with a certain problem we sometimes encounter with our forces, especially among seamen and other basic workers. I will introduce this question by quoting from a recent letter:

> "I raise this here because it seems every time I have a meeting with you that I make attacks on the Party leadership locally and I sure am trying hard to keep from having an anti-Party approach. It is just trying to get some of these comrades to act and help us to solve our Party problems. I say that if we could solve our Party problems and act on some of our proposals we could go ahead where we are short of forces in marine, and do more work in the union and also more work among the seamen, and not have to spend so much time trying to get the leading comrades to act on certain questions that come up in marine at this time. I also realize that they have plenty of problems but of course they also have plenty of forces. I think that the Center will have to come out more sharply and not only attack the marine comrades but also make them directly responsible. I hope that you understand my point and will think things over before you send me an answer telling me how cock-eyed my line is because I have been doing a lot of thinking lately and some of my thoughts were worse than this."

Certainly this letter reflects an unhealthy state of mind, one in which the comrade sees all of the problems from an inner point of view, and lacks confidence in the Party leadership as well. Now, if this were just an individual or an isolated case, it would not deserve to be raised at this Plenum. But this complaint is far too common. I know this, because a good part of my time has been spent in struggling against this tendency. These ideas are dangerous and must be fought against. But before stating that these comrades are all dangerous and disloyal to the Party, we must find out the source of the trouble. Why do these tendencies arise?

First, because these comrades are often confused about the most elementary things concerning the Party. Second, they are usually the most active forces bearing the brunt of the work. They feel the need of more help and leadership from the Party, help which is often lacking; and often they are more conscious of shortcomings in the Party than some of the leading Party comrades. But while they often see weaknesses, they often arrive at incorrect solutions to the problems because of their inexperience.

Third, they have at times been influenced by anti-Party theories

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which prevailed at one time and probably still exist in remnants.

These are the major reasons, and if we are going to solve this problem we must, on the one hand, struggle against these tendencies, and, on the other, maintain a correct reaction to justified criticisms. Shortcomings should be eliminated instead of just talked about, and we must closely examine our methods of work with cadres in order to replace such comrades with comrades capable of winning the confidence of workers in basic industries.

Finally, more attention must be given to our forces. We must exert serious effort to study them, to learn their shortcomings and help them develop those qualities of devotion to the working class and loyalty to the Party, which are the first prerequisite raised by Comrade Dimitroff for cadres.

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Winning the Masses to Fight for Peace

(Speech delivered at the November Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A.)

By ALEX BITTELMAN

COMRADES, I have the feeling that perhaps now we shall really be able to make a change in the agitational and propaganda work of the Party. We have been trying for many months to make the comrades understand precisely what Comrade Browder so eloquently expressed in his report, namely, that Communist agitation means agitation *among the masses*, the winning of the masses for our slogans. It does not mean just a contest of throwing at the masses quantities of pamphlets, leaflets, etc., although quantity is very important. It means putting forth the proper kind of literature, such as will really convince the masses and win them for our slogans. Because the response here to the call of Comrade Browder for mass agitators and mass agitation was so warm, I feel justified in assuming that the change will be made. The comrades will carry away from this Plenum the full meaning of Comrade Browder's words that no agitprop department of the Party is of any use if it cannot organize good agitation among the masses.

Unfortunately, I cannot dwell on this question any longer as it is my task today to speak on another subject. It is the question of how and in what way to win the masses to our position in the struggle for peace.

WINNING THE MASSES TO THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

We have a powerful and correct strategy in the struggle for peace, the strategy formulated by the Seven World Congress of the Communist International. To bring this strategy to the masses is our task. But in order to do this successfully, we must be aware of some of the difficulties facing us. It is sufficient to point, for example, to the fact that the Left Socialists, who certainly want peace, still find it difficult to understand that our peace policy is the only correct proletarian policy of peace. In fact they reproach us with the argument that our peace policy is not a revolutionary policy of peace. We must therefore try to find out what it is that makes it difficult

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for the Leftward moving Socialists and other workers to understand and accept our policy of peace—the only true revolutionary policy.

For this purpose it is necessary to examine further the slogan, "Keep Out of War" already discussed by Comrade Browder. One should not underestimate the popularity of this slogan in the United States. It is an undeniable fact that the widest masses of the country, one can say the whole country with the exception of a narrow clique of reactionary warmongers, are in favor of peace. Yet this same overwhelming majority in the United States still believes that this aim —peace—can be accomplished by a policy of isolation. "Keep out of world affairs and you will avoid dragging the United States into a new war"—this seems to express the idea. We are dealing here with an illusion but one that is widespread. It is necessary to know what is at the base of such isolationist illusions. Certainly, they have no economic base. There is no class in the United States that is economically interested in isolation, assuming that it were possible, which it is not. It is clear therefore that the isolationist illusions are a remnant of the past when there may have been some economic grounds for it.

I cannot go into the question further than to add that the idea of isolation is an impossibility. Isolation does not exist in reality. It is sheer illusion. But it is kept alive by the geographical position of the country, its so-called remoteness from the "trouble spots" of the world. This tends to give the idea of isolation some sort of substance which it really does not possess. Take, for example, the Caribbean region, Central and South America. Certainly that is not very remote geographically from the United States. But that part of the world is one of the most important "trouble spots"— a source of war between the United States and England and a source of acute imperialist rivalry between the United States and Japan.

The isolation illusion is also kept alive by the skillful demagogy of Hearst, Coughlin and similar reactionary and warmongering elements. And we must not underestimate the effect of this demagogy.

The question is: how can we dissipate these illusions? The resolution of the Seventh Congress on war shows how it can be done.

Every isolationist who sincerely wants peace will readily admit that fascism strains to the utmost all international relations. We need no better example than the Italian war against Ethiopia. Is it not evident that this war has already emboldened Japan to force the separation of North China, to move further into Central China and to intensify its maneuvers in Mongolia? Surely, no intelligent friend of peace in this country will deny that precisely because

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Mussolini was allowed to begin war and to carry it on, the Japanese military-fascist clique is hastening to broaden out its war in the Far East.

Now, while many American toilers can still find some plausibility for their illusion that Europe is too far away and does not concern us, or that Africa is still less of concern to us, yet very few Americans will maintain that the Far East does not concern us. Every American knows that the Far East concerns this country very closely and intimately. Every American knows that the Far East is the place which American imperialism views as one of its chief avenues of expansion. It is necessary to emphasize that American imperialism does not and will not accept Japanese domination in China. To expect monopoly capital in this country to give up China is to expect American capitalism to abdicate. It is also foolish to expect that American imperialism will accept the present changes in the relation of forces in the Far East—unfavorable to American capitalism—brought about by Japanese aggression. On this both Roosevelt and his Right opponents are agreed. It is therefore clear that the present war in the Far East directly threatens the peace of the United States; there is no power on earth to keep us out of a "big" war in the Far East once that begins unless forestalled by a socialist revolution. This is what we must prove to the American masses. And as we prove that we dissipate nine-tenths of the isolation illusions. We lay the basis for convincing the masses that in the same way the war in Ethiopia threatens the peace of the United States, and that a war in Europe will certainly threaten the peace of this country.

What about Europe? The belief prevails that if war should break out in Europe, either between England and Italy or if Hitler is allowed to begin war in Lithuania and then on the Soviet Union, that will not directly endanger the peace of the United States. That is an illusion also. It arises from a lack of appreciation of the world role of American capitalism today. It is necessary to explain to the masses what that role is. It is necessary to explain that the main line of antagonism between the imperialist powers runs between England and the United States. That is not difficult to explain because large masses of American toilers already have the feeling, if not a clear understanding, that this is the main imperialist rivalry in the world today. And once this fundamental point is clearly understood, it is not difficult to show that any change in the relation of forces in Europe *today* is bound to be favorable to British imperialism and unfavorable to American imperialism, and that American imperialism will not willingly allow this to happen, even if it has to drag this country into war.

It is becoming more clear every day that British imperialism is

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cultivating a "friendship" with Hitler fascism for the purpose of creating a counterbalance to the United States on a world scale. This is what the Seventh World Congress has found, and correctly so. In its "friendship" to Hitler the British imperialists—decisive sections of them—have in mind primarily to build up a power against the Soviet Union. At the same time they seek to utilize that power also against the United States, and American imperialism understands that very well.

How, then, can anyone expect that any large-scale war, either in Europe or in the Far East, which under present conditions threatens to affect unfavorably American imperialism because it is not yet ready for war, will leave the American ruling class indifferent or passive? To expect that is to commit an unpardonable error, is to swim blindly and passively into a war disaster. It must be clearly understood that no present-day war conflict, no matter how remote the part of the world, leaves unaffected the peace of the United States; that the danger of this country being drawn into war is practically just as acute as that danger is in England, France or any other European country.

This, comrades, we must explain to the masses in popular language, in plain language. It is an important task because the illusions of isolation are strong, especially in the Middle West and especially among the farmers. And these illusions are being played upon by the Hearsts and Coughlins, by the most reactionary and fascist elements in this country precisely for the purpose of promoting war—war abroad and war against the toiling masses at home.

In combatting the isolation demagogy, we must very carefully differentiate our own revolutionary and internationalist policy of peace from the "internationalism" of Wall Street. This is fundamental. I have nothing to add to what Comrade Browder said on this point. Only to emphasize: there are two dangers to guard against. One is the danger of the American masses becoming the tail end of the Hearst-Coughlin isolation demagogues. The other is the danger (not so acute for the moment but may become serious) of the American masses becoming the tail end to the "internationalists" of Wall Street, and the *New York Times*. The way to guard against both these dangers is to win the masses for the independent revolutionary policy of peace as advocated by the Communist Party —the peace policy of the U.S.S.R.

ON THE PECULIAR DIFFICULTIES OF THE LEFT SOCIALISTS . .

The Left Socialists are encountering peculiar difficulties in their effort to arrive at a revolutionary policy of peace. We must try to help them to overcome these difficulties.

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One sign of their difficulties is the illusion that—on the question of peace—they are the Left-wingers and we are the Right-wingers. How did they get themselves into this quandary? I think the answer will be found in this: the Left Socialists are trying to formulate a policy of peace designed to meet the world situation of 1914-1918 rather than the world situation of 1935. They are trying to retrace the steps of Lenin, the Bolsheviks and of ourselves in the period of 1914-1918. Of course, they do not always hit the same footsteps; many times they get out of step, but their general line of direction seems to be the same as ours at that time. They repeat, what Lenin said *then*, that the main world antagonism which determines the character of war is the antagonism between the imperialists. In 1914 it was the antagonism between two imperialist coalitions, one headed by England, the other—by Germany. There were small countries involved in both coalitions but the character of the conflict was determined by the imperialist rivalries of the big imperialist powers. Between these two, Lenin said, the proletarian has nothing to choose: we are against both. The Left Socialists are trying to restate this Leninist proposition, formulated for the world situation of 1914-1918, as the policy for 1935. But they have not yet understood the Lenin-Stalin method of applying Marxism to the present world situation. Naturally they get themselves into all sorts of difficulties.

What is their main error? *Is is their failure to appreciate the greatest change that occurred in the world since 1914-1918—the emergence of the Soviet Union.* Of course, they know of the physical existence of the Soviet Union and call themselves its friends. But they have not as yet fully understood what it all means; they have not yet drawn all the conclusions from the fact that today we have *two worlds*, the world of socialism and the world of capitalism. They have not yet drawn the conclusion that *the chief world antagonism today—fundamentally different from 1914-1918—is the contradiction between these two worlds, between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union, the country of socialism.* And another conclusion: between *these* two camps, unlike 1914-1918, the world proletariat does have a choice. It is: for the Soviet Union and against the capitalist world. And finally, the contradiction between the world of capitalism and the world of socialism determines also the directions and aims of the imperialist rivalries and conflicts. This means that today it is impossible to evaulate correctly the character and direction of the inter-imperialist contradictions without their relation to the *main* world contradiction in this epoch. Obviously, anyone ignoring or failing correctly to understand all the implications of the contradiction between the two worlds is bound to go wrong on everything else, and this is fatal for a working class party.

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I suspect that the Left Socialists have a notion that this is precisely the cause of their troubles. Otherwise, how would you explain their persistent shying away from a frank and honest discussion of the struggle between the two worlds and of the revolutionary role of the Soviet Union? A guilty conscious — is my explanation. Therefore we must say: try to understand that the main and determining contradiction in the world is the contradiction between the capitalist world and the U.S.S.R.—the international fortress of socialism. Try to understand that the *foundation* of a proletarian policy of peace in this epoch is the defense of the Soviet Union. This is our base. This is our starting point. From this, and this alone, can the working people of the United States, and all countries, arrive at a correct, revolutionary, proletarian and truly internationalist policy of peace. Once you have understood this, everything else will come with it.

Why don't the Left Socialists try to discuss another question: what shall the working class do if, in spite of the efforts of the peace forces, a counter-revolutionary war should begin against the U.S.S.R.? The Seventh World Congress gave a clear line of policy. Comrade Browder discussed it. He said: if the Soviet Union is compelled by the commencement of a counter-revolutionary war to set in motion the workers' and peasants' Red Army, the Communists of all countries will call upon the toilers to insure the victory of the Red Army over the armies of the imperialists *by all means and at any price*. This is not difficult to understand. It is crystal-clear and simple and at the same time it contains the whole revolutionary peace policy of the proletariat. But the Left Socialists are still shying away from discussing it. And so they sometimes fall victim to Trotskyite counter-revolutionary insinuations. And at other times they get caught in Lovestoneite sophisms and speculations —kibitzing, I call it.

Instead, the Left Socialists should ask themselves: Are we going to be "neutral"? Will we advocate a policy of "staying out"? Or will we say, work by all means and at any price to insure the victory of the Red Army? If the Left Socialists will frankly, honestly and seriously discuss this question and try to reach *a proletarian and socialist conclusion*, they will reach our conclusion, the only possible conclusion. And then they will find that nine-tenths, if not all, of their difficulties shall have disappeared. They will find that at last they will have arrived at a correct peace policy for the American proletariat.

In this connection it will not be amiss if I say a few words on the Franco-Soviet pact. You remember the malicious insinuations of the enemies—a "war pact", "capitalist diplomacy practised by the

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Soviets", "making the French Communist Party supporters of militarism", "weakening the French working class", etc., etc. I don't want to speak now of the enemy but rather of the doubts of the friends. Can't they now see how unfounded their doubts were? It is clear that the Franco-Soviet pact, imposed upon the French imperialists by the toiling masses, has exercised a restraining influence upon Hitler fascism and has encouraged the peace forces all over the world. The peace pact is today a noose around Laval's neck, and around the necks of the French reactionaries, and the loose end of the noose is held by the toiling masses of France. It is clear that the pact has helped tremendously to mobilize the toilers of France against reaction and war; that it has strengthened the French working class as the leader of the People's Front against fascism. It is also clear that the pact accelerated trade union unity and strengthened the united front between the Socialist and Communist Parties. One need not be a Communist to recognize that the Communist Party of France has taken the pact and made of it a weapon of struggle against the fascist and war makers—the Comite de Forge, the Bank of France, the de la Rocque clique, etc. It has strengthened the Communist Party of France. Certainly the election of Comrade Cachin to the French Senate is an important demonstration of precisely this development, the strengthening of the united front, the growth of the prestige of the Communist Party in the fight against fascism, war and capitalism.

And what was the main trouble with the "doubters" who are now abandoning their doubts? Failure to understand the main antagonism between the world of capitalism and the world of socialism. Failure to understand that the basis of a proletarian peace policy today is the support of the peace policies of the U.S.S.R. and the defense of the Soviet Union. He who takes the correct proletarian position on this will be reasonably sure to take the correct proletarian position on everything else.

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH OTTO BAUER?

It will be profitable at this point to discuss briefly a certain thesis on war and peace submitted to the Second International by Bauer, Dan and Zyromski. This thesis, as you know, created a little sensation in the European countries and also in the United States; here, perhaps, more than in Europe. This is a significant and important development. It shows the growing and deepening disagreements in the Second International, the growing process of differentiation between the reactionary opponents of the united front and the powerful movement for the united front. It also shows that in this movement there are sincerely Leftward-moving masses of

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Socialists, Left Socialist leaders and organizations and also some "Left" leaders (in quotation marks). The question is: how soon will these quotation marks disappear?

Bauer (together with the others) has attached his name to a thesis which calls for the defense of the Soviet Union, which says that, in case of war, the international proletariat and the Socialist movement are interested in the victory of the Soviet Union. This is important especially because Bauer proposes that the Second International shall make its line of policy rest on the proposition that "the interests of international socialism demand that the Soviet Union shall be victorious". If he fights for this policy, as he should, the results will no doubt be of great significance.

It is true that on this question Bauer did not function very much as a leader. The Austrian class-conscious proletariat had reached this conclusion long ago. Large numbers of Austrian Socialists have been moving very fast in the direction of a revolutionary class policy on all questions including the crucial and test question—the defense of the Soviet Union. What happened was that Bauer finally proceeded to follow the class-conscious workers of Austria. Which is very good, indeed. For it is clear that he who wants to remain with the Austrian proletariat, whose glorious Schutzbund (a united front body) has christened one of its battalions with the immortal name of Kirov, must follow the position of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union. So I repeat that Bauer, in signing his name to the great, important and significant declaration that the interests of international socialism demand that the Soviet Union shall be victorious, has followed in the footsteps of the militant workers of Austria. And this we should applaud.

But Bauer did also another thing, which is far from good, is positively bad. He cunningly injected into this matter a considerable portion of poisonous Trotskyite counter-revolutionary propaganda. He calls for the defense of the Soviet Union and in the same breath designates the Soviet government as a "terrorist dictatorship". Who did we hear that from before? Trotsky, Hearst, Abe Cahan, the Liberty League—isn't that so? Now, then, when Bauer gives us with one hand the defense of the Soviet Union and with the other—the Trotskyite counter-revolutionary slander of "terrorist dictatorship", we are in duty bound to ask: What is the matter with Bauer? What is Bauer trying to do here? Is he sincere with his defense of the Soviet Union? How can one agitate for the defense of the Soviet Union by slandering it in the best style of Trotsky and Hearst? Every worker will ask that question and he will answer: something is the matter with Bauer.

It is therefore very unfortunate that a *Daily Worker* editorial

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(October 26) carries the headline: "Otto Bauer Points the Way to Working Class Unity Against War."

Does Bauer point the way? No, he does not. In his good deed he follows the Austrian workers. In his bad deed, in his counter-revolutionary insinuations, he follows Trotsky. No, Bauer does not point the way to working class unity against war. Bauer is destroying with one hand what he apparently tried to build up with the other.

The *Daily Worker* editorial had good intentions. It sought to help along the crystallization of united front sentiment and action in the parties of the Second International, first of all in the Socialist Party of America. It sought to do so by contrasting the harmful position of the reactionaries in the Executive of the Second International against the united front with the progressive position of the adherents of the united front in the Executive. That is good. That is correct. That is one of the effective ways of working for the united front. But it was positively wrong and harmful to the united front to represent Bauer as "a pointer of the way", or to represent the Russian Mensheviks as a "progressive force" in the Socialist movement. You can't build the united front with Trotskyist counter-revolutionary slander against the Soviet Union and with "Menshevik progress". No, that way lies perpetuation of disunity.

It becomes even worse with Bauer when we look somewhat closer into his "advocacy" of the defense of the Soviet Union. And we find Trotskyist counter-revolution very cunningly injected, as is seen from the following:

> "If the Soviet government, even now, is forced to adapt its diplomatic methods to those of its capitalist allies [Trotsky says: willingly adapts its methods],
>
> "If the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, even now, disapproves of the Communist Parties of the countries allied to the Soviet Union in order to please these capitalist allies and asks them to submit to the demands of their capitalist war ministers [Trotsky could not say it better, that is, more insidiously counter-revolutionary].
>
> "If this is happening now there will be certainly in the event of war a still greater danger that the war policy of the Soviet Union may be influenced by the pressure of her capitalist allies and that, therefore, her revolutionary, working class character may be obscured or diluted."

Trotskyite counter-revolutionary poison very cunningly injected.

We must ask again: is this the way Bauer proposes "to win" the masses for the defense of the Soviet Union? By slandering it, by slandering its Party and our great leader, Stalin? A phoney way, this, very phoney.

Phoney and funny. The funny part is that Bauer sets himself

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up here in the role of guardian and protector of the revolutionary integrity of the Soviet Union. You see, the great Stalin, whose mere name evokes love and enthusiasm among the toilers all over the world, the architect of victorious socialism and the leader of the world revolutionary movement, Stalin is not good enough to watch over the revolutionary integrity of the Soviet Union; but Bauer is. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leader of the first victorious socialist revolution, the builder of socialism, the model party of the Communist International, this party cannot maintain the revolutionary integrity of the Soviet Union; but Bauer can. And the Communist International, led by Stalin, representing the revolutionary workers in every part of the world—the Communist International is not in the picture at all. Thereupon, Bauer steps in. Funny, very funny.

And when the question is raised (not that we look especially for this sort of debate), may we ask what specifically are the great revolutionary accomplishments of Bauer? Surely, he could not have forgotten that it was his leadership that led to the victory of capitalism in Austria in the period of 1918? Surely, he could not have forgotten his more recent responsibility in the failure to win of the heroic armed struggles of the Austrian workers against Dollfuss fascism in 1933? There are, of course, many more important questions on the struggle for peace on which we seriously disagree with Bauer. But time does not permit us now to deal with them. We shall discuss them subsequently.

What relation has all this got with the struggle for the united front? A very close relation.

First, every voice in the Second International raised in favor of the united front, no matter how weak, is a victory for the united front and for the struggle against fascism and war. Hence, Bauer's voice for the united front is a victory for the struggle of the masses against their enemies. We must utilize widely all such voices, all such actions, in favor of the united front to make these voices louder, the actions more determined and the movement broader for the united front between the Socialist and Communist Parties, between the Second and the Communist Internationals. That is fundamental. That is how we will promote the people's front and will also advance the cause of organic unity—one political party of the proletariat.

From this it follows that we do not demand of the Socialist workers, or any other workers, that they subscribe fully to our position on the Soviet Union as a condition for the united front. Our deeds show that we demand no such thing. And we shouldn't. We join hands with all workers, on any issue no matter how modest, to fight jointly for the improvement of their conditions and the con-

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ditions of all toilers. And on the question of war and peace, for example. We don't seek to impose our policy on anyone although we believe it to be the only correct policy. We have demonstrated our readiness to join hands with all sincere friends of peace and to fight jointly for every measure that advances the cause of peace. And in the course of these struggles we seek to convince the masses that the peace policy advocated by us is the only correct and possible one.

So also on the question of the Soviet Union. In the interests of Socialism we seek to create the widest friendship for the Soviet Union. And there are already in the United States wide masses of friends of the Soviet Union—friends of its peace policy, friends of its socialist system, friends of its culture and other phases of new socialist life. We stand ready to join hands with all toilers in the cause of creating good will and friendship to the Soviet Union, seeking to win their support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union. And in the course of this work for the defense of the Soviet Union.

Second, this does not mean that we should leave unanswered Trotskyist counter-revolutionary attacks on the Soviet Union, its Party, the Communist International and our leader, Stalin. No, it does not mean that. On the contrary. All such attacks, especially when made so cunningly as Bauer did, we must expose, bring out into the open and show their essentially counter-revolutionary nature. This will help the united front. This will help to win the masses to a correct position on the central question of the present epoch—the correct attitude to the Soviet Union.

Flexibility to the utmost in the fight for the united front and Bolshevik firmness in defense of our revolutionary principles. This we must never forget. And another thing we must never forget. It is one thing to dissipate doubts, prejudice and lack of understanding on the part of honest toilers; here we must be patient though persistent, sometimes go slowly to enable the worker to grasp the revolutionary idea on the basis of his own experiences in the struggle. But it is an entirely different thing in the case of Bauer who cannot be suspected of injecting essentially counter-revolutionary policies without knowing what he was doing. Here we need a clear exposure and a firm answer without in any way slackening the utilization of his disagreements with the reactionaries in the Second International to promote the united front.

Not only a firm answer but also a timely answer. We must not be found again lagging in our answer.

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The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International and the Tasks of Our Party

(Resolution Adopted at the November Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A.)

THE Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. endorses fully and wholeheartedly the decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. These decisions are already proving the most powerful weapon for building the united front and the people's front against fascism and war, in the struggle for peace, for trade union unity, and for one working class political party.

It is vitally necessary that the decisions of the Seventh World Congress be made the property of the widest masses of American toilers. The Central Committee therefore greets the popularization campaign initiated by the Political Bureau through such means as open membership meetings, public symposium and debates, mass distribution of Dimitroff's report, etc. The enthusiastic reception given to the Browder reports, and the reports of the other comrades, by wide circles of workers, non-Communists as well as Communists, at such large gatherings as the memorable Madison Sq. Garden meeting and others throughout the country, proves the possibility for the widest mass popularization of the united front message of our Party.

The Central Committee urges the Party organizations to prosecute further this campaign with the utmost energy. We must strive especially to stimulate fraternal, comradely discussions with Socialists, trade unionists and farmer organizations, through symposiums and similar means, on the practical tasks of building the united and people's front. A most vital phase of this campaign is the popularization of the decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International to help build the widest anti-fascist youth front throughout the world. The Party press can and must play a most important role in this work.

The Central Committee approves wholeheartedly the work of the Party's delegation. The Central Committee notes especially the prominent part taken by the delegation—Party and Young Communist League—in the Congress deliberations and decisions, the coming forward of the C.P.U.S.A. as a major party in the world

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organization of the Communists and the harmonious working of the delegation as a body. From this arises a great responsibility, namely, the responsibility of making the united and people's front in the United States an example and a fortress of the world united front against fascism and war.

The Central Committee takes this occasion to send fraternal and revolutionary greetings to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, to its helmsman, Comrade Dimitroff, and to the great leader of the world revolutionary movement, Comrade Stalin.

Our chief task at present is to reorientate the work of the Party in accord with the tactical line of the Seventh World Congress. This line rests upon the central idea that the working class is now in a position to exercise a decisive influence upon the affairs of its own country as well as upon world affairs. The final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the Soviet Union strengthens immeasurably the positions of the workers all over the world. The inabliity of the bourgeoisie to overcome the collapse of capitalist stabilization and the increasing urge of the Socialists and trade unionists to the united front enable the workers of every capitalist country to carry on an active revolutionary policy of weakening the positions of the bourgeoisie and of strengthening the positions of the proletariat and its allies. It is the policy of thwarting the imperialist designs of the bourgeoisie and its contemplated attacks upon the U.S.S.R. It is the policy of frustrating the offensive of the bourgeoisie upon the toilers and of checking its attempt to introduce fascism. It is a policy that is profoundly hostile to the policy of reforming capitalism which makes the working class the tail end of the bourgeoisie.

In order to help the American workers to pursue such an active revolutionary policy, the Communists must break with the remnants of the old methods of mere general propaganda, must eradicate all remnants of the old traditions of functioning as revolutionary oppositions to the Socialist Party, to the mass trade unions and other mass organizations of the toilers. The bankruptcy of reformist policies, the greater opportunities for winning the masses to revolutionary policies, and the growing urge to the united front—these developments are creating a condition where Communists can and must assume responsibilities for the fate and well-being of the working class and of all toilers today and everyday. We must seek to become an important political factor in the daily life of our country and in the life of the world.

To strengthen the positions of the proletariat in the United States, the Communists must carry on their daily work in such a way as will contribute most effectively to the organization of the millions

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of unorganized workers into industrial unions and to the building up of the people's Farmer-Labor Party. This means also the organization and unification of the unemployed, much more serious work among the toiling farmers, the rendering of the most active assistance to the development of the people's liberation movement among the Negroes, the widest mobilization of the toiling women and youth. Only in this way will we enable the American working class to combat the capitalist offensive, to frustrate the incipient fascist movements, to fight effectively for peace and for the defense of the Soviet Union, to combat American imperialism and to render the utmost assistance to the national liberation movements especially in China, in the Caribbean and South America.

Our main weapon for accomplishing the above aims is the united front, trade union unity and trade union democracy. Despite the desperate opposition of the "Old Guard" in the Socialist Party and of the reactionaries in the American Federation of Labor the possibilities are growing more favorable every day for the realization of the united front between the Communists and Socialist Parties as well as for the struggle to realize trade union unity and trade union democracy. The Central Committee calls upon the Party organizations and every Party member to prosecute the struggle for the united front with the utmost determination and flexibility in the *new way* pointed out by the Seventh World Congress.

Every Party member must realize that in fighting for the realization of the united front of the working class we are fighting for the establishment of "the decisive link in the preparation of the toilers for the forthcoming great battles of the second round of proletarian revolutions". This is the link that will fuse the proletariat into a single mass political power and "will ensure its victory in the struggle against fascism, against the power of capital, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the Soviets". This gives us the line and methods to infuse the masses with the ideas of Communism, the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in the present period. This gives us the true weapon for the building and strengthening of the Communist Party, for the realization of the political unity of the American proletariat—one party—and for building the transition to the revolutionary struggle for a Soviet America.

The Central Committee calls upon the Party to do all in its power to help the Young Communist League to accomplish successfully the change in its character indicated by the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International. The cause of uniting the toiling youth is of the most vital importance for the successful struggle against fascism and war. Consequently we must help the Young Communist League to carry through its reconstruction in

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such a way as will make it most effective in the creation of a genuine mass non-Party youth organization "which will include in its ranks not only Communist youth but also Socialist, national revolutionary, pacifist, religious and other youth, which will educate all its members in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism".

The Central Committee places before the Party the important task of studying and devising the best ways of adjusting the Party organization and its structure to the practical tasks confronting us at present. The Central Committee especially urges the Party organizations to improve radically the quality of its cadres by promoting to responsible activity and leadership mass workers, leaders and organizers of mass struggles in the trade unions, among the unemployed, among the toiling farmers, among the youth and women, straining all efforts to enable these cadres to strengthen their theoretical and political education.

Realizing that sectarianism is the chief obstacle to the rapid reorientation of our work along the above lines, the Central Committee calls upon the Party to eradicate all vestiges of sectarianism, all stereotyped and mechanical approaches and methods, uprooting every resistance to effective mass revolutionary work and policies, and guarding vigilantly against Right opportunist tendencies. The Central Committee calls upon the Party membership to cultivate and display the utmost initiative, the ability to apply in a living way the teachings of Marx, Lenin, Engels and Stalin, political alertness and tactical ability inseparably linked with firmness in the prosecution of our revolutionary aims and boundless loyalty to our revolutionary principles and program.

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The Farmer-Labor Party and the Struggle Against Reaction

(Resolution Adopted at the November Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A.)

THE building of a Farmer-Labor Party at the present time is the most burning need of the working class of America, of the toiling farmers and of the middle classes. The building of such a party is the only way in which the working people of this country can seriously undertake to improve their intolerable conditions, to shift the burden of the crisis back to the shoulders of the rich, and to ward off the growing menace of capitalist reaction, fascism and war. It is the only way in which the working people can make an effective stand for their own interests in the national elections of 1936.

The prosperity talk of the Republicans and Democrats is a barefaced fraud. Business, they say, is getting better every day; therefore the working people need no longer worry about jobs, income and relief. This is sheer mockery. The working class of this country still carries on its back the terrific burden of no less than fourteen million unemployed. Over twenty million people are still dependent on the relief rolls. Weekly earnings for most workers are today lower than at the beginning of the Roosevelt administration. The cost of living is mounting. The bulk of the farming population is in deep crisis. The youth of America, the flower of our people, still remain without prospects of jobs or future. The middle classes are being broken up and the basis of their lives destroyed. The Negro people, the most oppressed of all exploited, are being driven deeper into the depth of misery. And this is the state of affairs which both Hoover and Roosevelt have the audacity to describe as returning prosperity.

Never before were the working people of this country in greater need of making a determined stand against the continued robbery by the monopolies. Never before were the chances so favorable for a successful effort to shift the burden of the crisis to the rich. The prosperity cry of Hoover and Roosevelt seeks to paralyze the independent political efforts of the masses. They seek to prevent the coming forward of a Farmer-Labor Party—an independent party of the American toiling people against their oppressors and despoilers.

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It is true that business is improving but that means chiefly improvement in profits, in the growing profits of the monopolies. This improvement was brought about by the operation of the natural laws of capitalism, above all by the unparalleled destruction of the standards of living of the masses who are forced to pay for the crisis, and also by government spending. But this government spending, which is made the chief target of attack by the reactionaries and fascists (Liberty League, Hearst, etc.), went largely into subsidies to the banks, railroads and to armaments for war. Only a fraction of the government spending went into relieving the distress of the masses.

Despite the improvement in business, chiefly in monopoly profits, an improvement which may continue for a while until overtaken by a new crash, capitalism can not get out of its present stage of general crisis. Roosevelt himself had to admit that there will remain a permanent army of between ten to fifteen million unemployed even if production were to rise to the level of 1929. The tremendously lowered standard of living of the masses at home, their inability to buy, together with the most acute imperialist rivalries for shrinking world markets which threaten a new world war, make it impossible for declining American capitalism to surmount the general crisis of the capitalist system. Every boom will be followed by a deeper crisis. Only the working class revolution and the establishment of a Soviet government will abolish completely and finally the intolerable conditions of capitalist decline and decay.

Morgan, Dupont, Hearst & Co., the most reactionary and fascist circles of monopoly capital, the backbone of the Liberty League and the leaders of the crusade against Roosevelt, seek to solve the crisis of capitalism by even greater attacks upon the standard of living of the masses, by robbing them even of the little they now have, by more brutal oppression, by the means of wild reaction and methods of fascist rule. These reactionary monopolies, who were the main beneficiaries of Roosevelt's New Deal, are no longer satisfied with it as an effective way of saving capitalism from further decline. These arch-enemies of the American people seek to place in office an administration in 1936 that will stop before nothing in order to carry out the program of the heads of the Manufacturers' Association, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Bankers' Association. It is the program of further wage cutting, discontinuance of all relief (even the niggardly relief of Roosevelt) to unemployed and farmers, and of complete subordination of the government to the Morgan-Dupont-Hearst clique. It is the program that sails under the deceptive banners of "cheapening the cost of production", "balancing the budget" and "taking the government out of business".

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It is the program of unrestrained robbery of the masses and further reduction of their already lowered standard of living.

The Liberty League-Hearst clique knows full well that such a program cannot be undertaken except by means of open terroristic rule against the toiling masses and their fighting organizations. And that is what they are driving at. Destroy the trade unions. Outlaw all organizations, parties and activities that can serve the masses in offering resistance to their exploiters. Liquidate all remnants of democratic rights of the people. Militarize the youth. Terrorize and destroy everyone and everybody that dares to speak out, let alone fight, against the Morgan-Dupont-Hearst clique. Suppress with an iron hand, a la Hitler and Mussolini, all expressions of discontent, all demands for betterment of conditions. In short, they seek to introduce such reactionary measures as will help to establish the bloody rule of fascism in the United States. And they do so—a peculiarity of incipient American fascist reaction—under the cloak of combatting "dictatorships" and of "saving the Constitution".

The danger of growing fascism in the United States is real. If the masses are not aroused in time to this danger and if they are not mobilized to meet and check it through a powerful Farmer-Labor Party, "it can happen here". The material and political resources of the monopolies back of the Liberty League are tremendous. These reactionary elements are developing the wildest demagogy on all fronts and by a variety of agencies—Liberty League, Hearst, Coughlin, etc. It will be a great error to assume that the masses who are disillusioned in Roosevelt are immune from falling victim to the wiles of Roosevelt's Right opponents.

But the danger is also great that the continuing reliance of large masses upon Roosevelt as a check against Liberty League reaction and fascism will play into the hands of the reactionaries and fascists. Large masses of toilers still tend to hang on to Roosevelt less his defeat make room for the coming of a Liberty League administration. We share with these masses their detestation of the Liberty League-Hearst clique and are determined to do all in our power to help defeat the criminal designs of these reactionaries and fascists. And because of that we must show the masses that Roosevelt is no obstacle to the growth of reaction and fascism. Only a Farmer-Labor Party will create a dam to the growth and power of reaction. Roosevelt's methods and policies are different from his Right opponents. This must not be ignored or underestimated. But his class aims are the same. He too seeks to protect the interests of monopoly capitalism, those groups that are in conflict with the Morgan-Dupont interests, by making the masses carry the main burden of the crisis. Under pressure, Roosevelt concedes a finger to the masses and a

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whole arm to the reactionary monopolies. His party—the Democratic Party—is dominated largely by the monopolies and their servants. Such a party and such a president cannot and do not serve the masses as a check against the capitalist offensive, reaction and fascism. To continue to rely, therefore, upon Roosevelt, is to make it easier for the Liberty League to press forward with reaction and fascism, is to swim blindly into disaster.

The struggles between Roosevelt and the Liberty League are sharpening. The economic basis of these struggles is the sharpening fight between various groups of monopolies for the division of the decreasing volume of profits. It is a real fight and can be made great use of for the strengthening of the positions of the working class and all toilers. But this can be done only by an independent political party of the masses, by a Farmer-Labor Party, which alone can utilize the divisions in the camp of the monopolies to advance the interests of the masses.

The further development of the Farmer-Labor Party movement demands a systematic and most intensive exposure of the danger of fascism and of its main source—the Liberty League-Hearst clique—which is based upon the Morgan-Dupont monopolies, the Manufacturers' Association, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Bankers' Association. In doing so it must be our central aim to convince the masses that they can place no dependence upon Roosevelt, that they must build a Farmer-Labor Party in order to fight effectively against the dangers carried by the reactionaries and fascists. We must prove to the masses that only a Farmer-Labor Party will challenge effectively the policies of both capitalist parties, will be able to shift the burden of the crisis back to the monopolies, to check the capitalist offensive, to frustrate the growth of fascism and to fight effectively for peace.

To those who ask whether our Party is going to break with those workers who are ready to build local and state Farmer-Labor parties but are not yet ready to support a Farmer-Labor presidential candidate in 1936, our answer is: We are not going to break with them. We are not going to push them back to the capitalist parties. We are going to build with them local and state parties to secure local governments, to elect state officers and Farmer-Labor Congressmen and Senators. And in this way we will seek to convince them of the need of a national Farmer-Labor Party and of putting forth also a national ticket in the 1936 elections.

THE GROWING MOVEMENT FOR A FARMER-LABOR PARTY AND OUR IMMEDIATE TASKS

It would be a serious error to overlook the fact that in the recent

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municipal elections the broad masses of toilers, despite their growing discontent with existing conditions, have voted in the main for the Democratic and Republican parties. Nor can we overlook the dangerous trend, disclosed in these elections, of the ability of the Republicans to harness to the chariot of reaction the discontent of growing sections of the masses with Roosevelt's policies.

But it would also be the most serious error to overlook another significant fact. Wherever Farmer-Labor Party movements came into existence, organized by a substantial part of the trade union movement (giving the workers the feeling that they had a chance to win), there labor registered its opposition both to the New Deal and the Republican Party by voting for such workers' parties and tickets.

Proof of this fact is to be found in the landslide votes that swept into office the entire Socialist tickets in Reading, Pa., and Bridgeport, Conn., in the huge vote for the labor candidate in Detroit, in the important advances made by the labor tickets in Toledo, O., San Francisco, Cal., Port Huron, Mich., Springfield, Mass., Essex County, N. J., Gloversville and Schenectady, N. Y., etc. *This important development definitely shows that the situation is ripe for the building of a mass Labor Party of workers and farmers.* This development is but another expression of the big advances for the Labor Party movement where steps have been taken to crystallize this tendency among the masses. It indicates that the strength of the movement for the Labor Party registered at the last American Federation of Labor convention and at the recent conventions of a number of State Federations of Labor, etc., has deep support among the organized and unorganized workers as well as among other toilers.

The discontent with the Roosevelt policies comes from the masses of workers and middle class elements. The masses are dissatisfied because the New Deal has in the main resulted in "recovering" only the profits of the rich, while any gains in the wages of the workers have been more than wiped out by the rise in the cost of living. Unemployment remains almost stationary even in the face of a rise in production, a condition brought about by increasing rationalization and speed-up. Relief remains inadequate and precarious, with the threat of further curtailment, on the basis of the Roosevelt "breathing spell". Company unions continue to flourish while the struggle of the workers to organize is met more and more by the brutal attacks of the armed forces of government. Except for a section of the rich farmers in the South and West, the bulk of the farming population—small farmers, tenant farmers and sharecroppers—are becoming more and more impoverished and oppressed, and are losing their land under the operations of the A.A.A. The

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growing power of the monopolies, accelerated under the New Deal, is making the lot of the city petty-bourgeoisie more and more intolerable. Taxes, despite the much advertized "soak the rich" talk, fall more and more upon the masses. Together with this there is the constant and increasing curtailment of civil liberties, with special measures of discrimination and oppression against foreign-born workers and, above all, Negro toilers.

In this situation only a party that can unite the scattered forces of labor and all toilers can serve the immediate and future interests of the masses. And in this situation, the top officialdom of the American Federation of Labor, with its non-partisan policy, is serving to defeat the workers no matter whom they support, Roosevelt or the Republican Party.

I. The real issues facing the masses in the coming presidential election struggle, which must be taken up by the whole working class at once, are to rally the forces of labor and its allies for:

1. Higher wages. The six-hour day, 30-hour week, without reduction in weekly earnings.

2. The right to organize. Full recognition of collective bargaining through unions of the workers' choice, and the outlawing of company unions.

3. Adequate relief to unemployed workers and toiling farmers. Genuine unemployment and social insurance, old age pensions. Funds to be secured by taxation of high incomes and fortunes.

4. A program of public works of lasting social benefit to the masses. Union wages on all public works. Public control by unions, unemployed organizations and toiling farmers' organizations of the funds and execution of the public works projects.

5. The opening of all closed factories by the government to supply jobs to the unemployed at union wages.

6. Against sales taxes, high utility rates, and high monopoly prices. For a policy of taxation of the rich and of lightening the heavy burden of taxes upon the workers, farmers, middle classes and professionals.

7. Immediate full payment of the bonus to the veterans through taxation of high incomes and fortunes.

8. Relief to the starving and impoverished farmers, against evictions and foreclosures, government loans without interest to poor and needy farmers. Cancellation of the indebtedness of the toiling farmers. For a policy of satisfactory prices to the toiling farmers and toiling population of the cities at the expense of the profits of the monopolies, banks and speculators. Land for the sharecroppers and small tenant farmers.

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9. Full support for the program of demands of the American Youth Congress.

10. Full civil rights for the Negroes especially in the South. Abolition of the jim-crow system and all forms of discrimination. The death penalty for lynchers. Full support to the National Negro Congress.

11. For the preservation of all democratic liberties. Unrestricted civil and workers' rights. For the abolition of the power of the Supreme Court to invalidate social legislation. For the support of the right of the masses by referendum to initiate legislation and to recall officials that betray the trust of the masses.

12. For the elimination and punishment of corruption in government.

13. To outlaw the use of professional strike-breakers, vigilantes, police, National Guard and federal troops in struggles of toilers for the betterment of their conditions.

14. For a genuine and consistent peace policy. Against imperialist exploitation and imperialist war. Against armaments and militarism. Against the fascist war instigators everywhere. Collaboration with all forces fighting for peace.

15. For the protection of the interests and rights of the toiling women. Against all reactionary and fascist attempts to disqualify the women from full participation in the economic and political life of the country.

Such and similar demands, fought for through a Farmer-Labor Party, will tremendously improve the conditions of the masses, will strengthen them against their exploiters, and will help to build up an impregnable fortress against reaction, fascism and war.

II. A Farmer-Labor government, backed by the organized support of the toilers and their organizations, will be able to attack the monopolies and weaken reaction at their most sensitive and strategic spots. A Farmer-Labor government will be able to attack the stranglehold of the bankers upon the credit and monetary policies of the country. Such a government will be able to weaken seriously the hold of the monopolies upon industry, agriculture and politics by various measures of nationalization and public control of the utilities, munition industries, etc. Especially in the struggle against monopoly rates by the utilities and their domination in the life of the country, local Farmer-Labor governments will be able to resort to various effective measures, including municipal ownership and public control of all utilities. Always provided the toiling masses use their organized might to back up the Farmer-Labor government in the struggle to weaken the positions of the monopolies and to strengthen the positions of the masses.

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This is the road that will prepare the working class and all toilers for the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalist rule, to abolish capitalism and build socialism. This is the road that will lead the masses to the struggle for a Soviet America which alone can build socialism in this country. From this it follows that it is an illusion—a reformist illusion—to believe that a Farmer-Labor government will be able peacefully—without the socialist revolution and the proletarian dictatorship—to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism, to establish a system of "production for use". Production for use means socialism and socialism is impossible without Soviet power. Nevertheless the Communists will offer no objections to the policy of committing the Farmer-Labor Party to a program of "production for use" because such a program would express, though in a vague way, the aspirations of wide masses to socialism. At the same time, the Communists will seek to convince the masses, on the basis of their own experiences in the struggles of the Farmer-Labor Party, that the only road to socialism is the road of the proletarian dictatorship and of Soviet power.

III. In order to organize the millions of workers and farmers against their powerful enemies, who use all means to confuse, disorganize and suppress the toiling masses, into a Farmer-Labor Party, it is necessary that all the advanced and progressive forces in the labor movement shall combine their forces towards this goal. Here it is especially important to achieve in the quickest possible way a lasting united front of the Socialist and Communist Parties, and facilitate the rallying around this united front of all the progressive forces in the trade union movement, among the farmers, among the intellectuals, among the middle class in the cities and towns.

IV. In order to bring about this united front and to assist the workers and farmers in organizing their own party as rapidly as possible and thus, on the basis of the daily struggles, bring it forward as an important factor in the 1936 elections, the C.C. of the C.P. U.S.A. places the following tasks in the center of the work of all of the organizations of the Party for the coming period:

1. Development of the broadest mass agitation for the Farmer-Labor Party among the masses by means of mass meetings, political symposiums, discussions in the labor and farmer organizations, etc., in the factories; in our publications, bringing this issue into the trade union, farmer, Negro and youth press, etc., bringing forward the immediate and local issues of these various groups and thus advancing them towards the crystallization of the struggle for the Farmer-Labor Party on the basis of their own experience. Also, the experiences with the Labor parties and Labor tickets in the last elections must be popularized.

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2. While developing the campaign agitationally everywhere, to actually crystallize local and state Labor parties in all localities where a sufficient basis has already been established for such Labor parties. This must be done by searching out, and uniting with, all forces and groups already pledged, and with those which can be won over to such a step (Socialist Party locals, progressive elements, etc.). In carrying through these tasks care must be taken to avoid on the one hand the danger of passivity and waiting, yielding to the sabotage of elements and groups who will raise all sorts of difficulties for the purpose of preventing the building of local Labor parties. On the other hand, care must be taken to guard against premature formation of such parties. This in the end can only discredit such movements and play into the hands of the enemies of the Labor Party movement. The ripeness for such a step can best be judged by the successes in winning over the trade unions for the Farmer-Labor parties.

3. As a rule the movement for the Farmer-Labor Party can best be promoted in each city and state by setting up committees for the promotion of the Labor Party in the trade unions, and simultaneously setting up similar committees in farmers' organizations, in the fraternal movements, in the language organizations, etc. Such committees in the trade unions should not be organized by the Communists and their sympathizers alone. The Communists should take the initiative in making contact with all Socialists, progressive trade unionists, etc., for the setting up of such committees, the convening of conferences, etc., giving these efforts the widest possible support. For this purpose it is necessary to discuss the question of a Farmer-Labor Party in the local unions, adopt resolutions, draw in especially the local organizations of those international unions, city central bodies and State Federations of Labor that have already gone on record for the Labor Party. At the same time we shall be ready to join, through our forces in the trade unions, with all other forces to set up a Committee for the Promotion of the Farmer-Labor Party on a national scale similar to the committee set up by the American Federation of Labor Convention Industrial Union bloc for the promotion of industrial unionism and the organization of the unorganized.

4. The success of this movement for a Farmer-Labor Party will to a large extent depend upon the degree to which the unorganized masses of workers will be drawn into the trade unions. This in turn will be determined by the success in permitting the workers to become organized on an industrial union basis, especially in the mass production industries. The winning of the millions of unorganized whose desire to become organized has been expressed through the ferment in the company unions, for the trade unions must become a

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fundamental and daily task of all Party organizations, giving to the trade unions and to the progressive forces in the trade unions every support in this direction. One of the tasks in this connection is to make special efforts to bring the Negro workers into the trade unions.

5. The struggles of the unemployed, the whole of the relief policy of the Roosevelt government, will play an important role in the coming elections and furnish one of the main levers for breaking the masses away from the two old parties and towards the Farmer-Labor Party. This requires that we overcome the weaknesses in the fight for relief, and broaden the movement for unemployment insurance. A necessary condition for a successful struggle on this field is the determined fight for the unification of the unemployed movement.

6. It is vitally necessary to win for the Farmer-Labor Party the masses around the Townsend and Epic movement and their organizations. We must work in them, seek united fronts with them with the aim of securing their participation in the Farmer-Labor party. The principle underlying the main demand of the Townsend movement, the demand for old age pensions and security, is a just principle; it is our principle, and we must fight jointly with them to realize it. Only a Farmer-Labor Party will be able to realize this principle. The important question of how to secure funds for old age pensions—by taxation of the rich, as we propose, or by inflation which hurts the poor, as Townsend proposes—this question we must seek to settle in a correct way jointly with the Townsend groups in the Farmer-Labor movement, by decision of the masses themselves. Likewise the principle which attracts masses to the Epic plan. The principle of "production for use" and the demand for the opening of the factories to the unemployed are just and correct. They are ours and we support them. In working with the Epic followers and organizations for the opening of the factories and to win them for the Farmer-Labor Party we seek to convince them that it is an illusion to believe that it is possible, as Sinclair claims, to build up a separate economy of the unemployed in the midst of capitalism or that it is possible to build up a system of "production for use" without the abolition of capitalism. In this way we will build the people's front against the capitalist offensive, reaction and war. The rebellious moods of the workers in the company unions, the movements within them to break the bonds of company control and to come closer to the genuine trade unions, create a fruitful field for work in favor of the Farmer-Labor Party. These opportunities should be utilized to the utmost.

Equally important, if not more so, is the work among the followers of Coughlin. His evident fascist trends and his connections

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with some of the most reactionary forces in this country make his mass influence especially dangerous to the toilers and to the growing Farmer-Labor movement. Coughlin gains influence by playing upon acute needs of the masses, by utilizing their just hatred of the bankers and the monopolies, by the ardent wish of the masses to break the stranglehold of the bankers upon the life of the country and to achieve a measure of social justice. But this is what we are fighting for, not Coughlin. Hence, we must work among his followers, win them to struggle concretely for social justice and show the real way of breaking the domination of the bankers. The struggle for the Farmer-Labor Party will thus be made a live and important issue also among the followers of Coughlin.

V. This gigantic historical task of speedily breaking away the broad masses from the Republican and Democratic parties—the building of the Farmer-Labor Party—expressing as it does the burning needs of the masses, demands the strengthening of the Communist Party organizationally and ideologically in order to be able to fully serve the masses, and lead them in their advance to this new stage. The Party organizations must therefore take up the task of educating every Party member more fully, bring the program of the Party to the workers and thus strengthen itself by recruiting the most advanced workers into the Party. The stronger and better equipped the Communist Party becomes, the better will it be able to build a broad people's front against the menace of fascism and war.

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